H. Raycroft

AMERICANS IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MONTREAL 1786 - 1824

THE AMERICAN ELEMENT IN THE EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN MONTREAL (1786-1824)

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SOURCES

Early records of the St. Gabriel Street Church are contained in the Presbytery Office of The Presbyterian Church in Canada located in the Dominion Square Building. There are none in the First Presbyterian Church in Montreal. The register of the St. Peter Street Church is to be found in the archives of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul although apparently, not the Minute Book of the Church Committee. A manuscript source of great value, if it could be located, is the diary of William Hunter, in which he is said to have noted the ecclesiastical events of his day. Before he helped form the St. Peter Street congregation, he had been an elder in the St. Gabriel Street Church. His diary was used by Robert Campbell in 1887.

The most valuable printed material relating to the St. Gabriel Street Church and the individuals who formed its membership, is found in Robert Campbell's book of 800 pages, entitled "History of the Scotch Church St. Gabriel Street, Montreal", and published in 1887. It also contains useful information concerning the St. Peter Street Church. In addition we have a short, almost contemporary history of the St. Peter Street Church. It was written by Dr. Alexander Mathieson in 1832, and is found in "The Life of Alexander Mathieson", published by James Croil in 1870.

ABBREVIATIONS

D.H.	Divinity Hall, (Montreal)
P.C.	Presbyterian College, (Montreal)
P.O.	Montreal Presbytery Office of The Presbyterian Church in Canada
F.M.	Faculty of Music, (McGill University)
R.L.	Redpath Library, (McGill University)
A.&P.	The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, (Montreal)
L.L.	The Legislative Library, (Halifax, N.S.)

Register St. Gabriel,	The Register of the St. Gabriel Street Church
Session St. Gabriel,	The minutes of the session of the St. Gabriel Street Church
Committee St. Gabriel,	The minutes of the temporality committee of the St. Gabriel Street Church
Register St. Peter,	The register of the St. Peter Street Church

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D.A.B.	Dictionary of American Biography
D.A.H.	Dictionary of American History

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN MONTREAL

CONGREGATIONAL CHANGES

1780 – 1835

BETHUNE'S PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATION
SEPARATED FROM EPISCOPAL CHURCH - MARCH 1786
RETURNED — MAY 1787

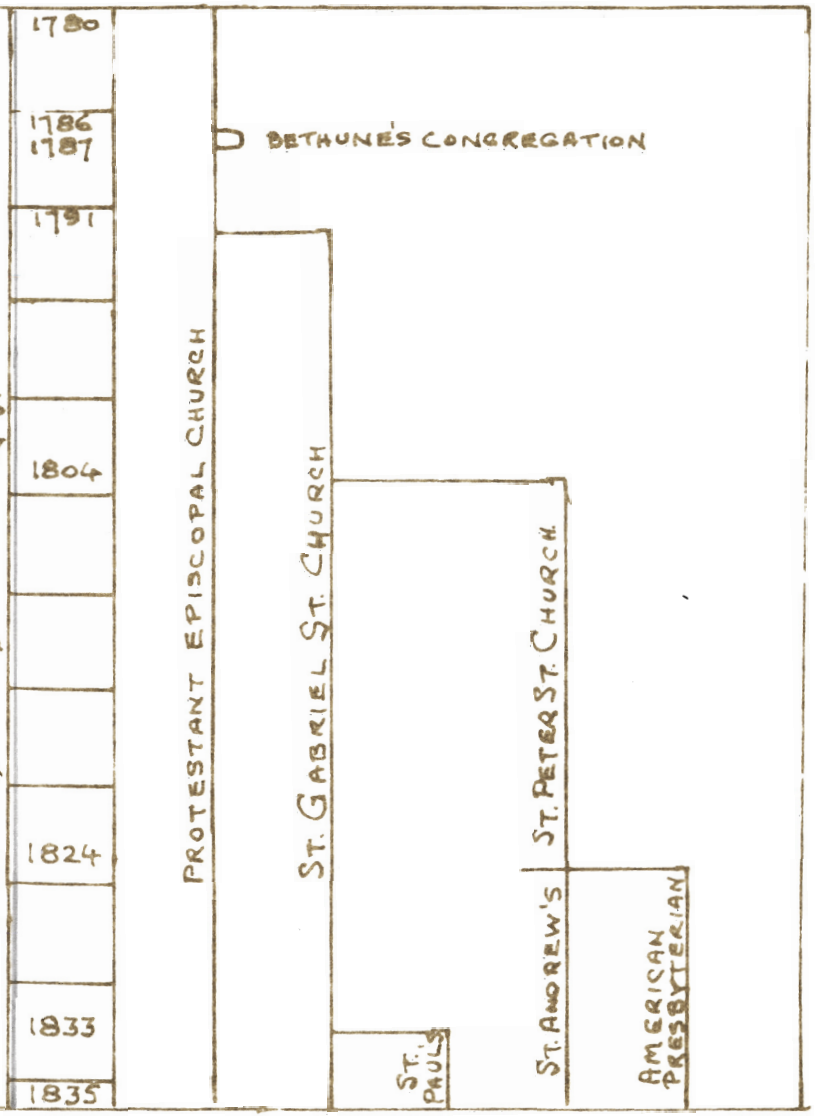
ST. GABRIEL ST. CONGREGATION FORMED 1791

ST. PETER ST. CONGREGATION LEFT
ST. GABRIEL ST. CHURCH 1804

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATION
LEFT ST. PETER ST. CHURCH 1824

REMAINDER OF CONGREGATION CHANGED
NAME TO ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH

ST. PAUL'S CONGREGATION LEFT
ST. GABRIEL ST. CHURCH 1833



CHAPTER I

THE REV. MR. JOHN BETHUNE AND THE FIRST CONGREGATION OF PRESBYTERIANS IN MONTREAL.*

On March 12, 1786, Presbyterians from the English speaking community in Montreal gathered in a room on Notre Dame Street[1] to worship together according to the usage of the Church of Scotland.[2] Chaplains from Scotland may have preached in Montreal previously, possibly in the same rented room on Notre Dame Street, but in March of 1786, the occasion was of greater significance. The Rev. Mr. John Bethune, who conducted the service, was to be the permanent pastor of the flock, and as such would dispense the ordinances in Holy Communion. Bethune continued to minister to his "small but interesting congregation",[3] for a short length of time, a little over a year, and then it was disbanded. With its creation, however, Presbyterianism came to life in Montreal.

Presbyterians had been among the first to arrive in Montreal after the cession of Canada to Great Britain in 1763. For over twenty years, therefore, they had been content to worship with the rest of Montreal's Protestant community, ministered to by the Anglican pastor, the Rev. David Chabrand de Lisle. De Lisle's stipend was paid by the government. He possessed an official register in

which to record births, marriages, and deaths. For almost twenty years the congregation had been permitted to use the Recollet Chapel as its place of worship.[4] Well did the Presbyterians know that none of these privileges would be granted them, at least not without a struggle, if they separated from the Anglican communion. However, the natural reluctance of the earlier Presbyterians was overcome by the impetus provided by American immigrants at the time of the American Revolution. It was therefore, an American element newly arrived in Montreal, who provided the incentive to form Montreal's first Presbyterian congregation.

The largest and most romantic American element that came to Canada at that time was the loyalists. It is estimated that 6,800 loyalists were in Quebec in 1785.[5] John Bethune was one of them. Although they were of no significance in the succeeding history of the Presbyterian Church in Montreal, it was probably the loyalists who were responsible for the formation of the Presbyterian congregation. On the other hand, the fur merchants who were quietly transferring their headquarters to Montreal from Albany, were to be of vital importance in the building of the first Presbyterian Church in Montreal a few years later and in its subsequent history.

The American loyalists who helped form the Presbyterian congregation were of mixed background. Most of them were probably Presbyterian Scots who had recently

arrived in the United States but preferred to remain under British rule. Others may have come from among the Dutch or German Protestant settlers in northern New York.[6] All of them were not necessarily Presbyterian. It is quite possible that many of the Anglican loyalists preferred to join the congregation of their fellow loyalist, John Bethune, rather than to accept the ministrations of a French Protestant priest whose accent was so strong that the first Bishop of Nova Scotia could scarcely understand him, when he preached.[7]

One of the loyalists from northern New York who came to Montreal at that time was Catherine Embury, the wife of Duncan Fisher.[8] She was the daughter of Philip Embury,[9] a descendant of German Protestants who had taken refuge in Ireland from the fury of Louis XIV. Philip Embury had been deeply touched by the teachings of John Wesley, and became a class teacher and a local preacher.. With other Palatines, he emigrated to New York in 1760 where he continued his trade as a carpenter, and taught school. However, Barbara Heck, a connection by marriage, disgusted at the evil she saw around her, goaded Embury into resuming his preaching. When he began to hold meetings in his small cottage in New York, Methodism got its start in North America. Embury and his family later migrated to Washington County, New York, a district north of Albany but

south of Lake George. Here, Philip Embury, "The Father of American Methodism", died in 1773.[10] The remaining Emburys and Hecks joined the trek of loyalists to Canada in 1778.[11] It is possible that Catherine Embury was already, at that time, married to Duncan Fisher, a young Scottish-born shoemaker.[12] We can find no trace of their marriage in Montreal, and we do know that Duncan Fisher arrived in Montreal in 1778, as well.[13] It is possible that the Fishers, Duncan and his two brothers, and a cousin, arrived in Montreal by way of northern New York therefore.

Barbara Heck and her husband travelled on to Upper Canada and settled in Augusta, where Barbara was to become well known as "the Mother of Methodism" in Ontario.[14] Her earlier role in New York was assumed in Montreal by her cousin, Catherine Embury Fisher. As we shall see, the title of "Father of Presbyterianism", in Montreal might rightfully be given to Duncan Fisher. Catherine Fisher, at a later date, actively supported the Methodist cause in Montreal, and probably because of her influence, most of her children eventually joined the Methodist Church.[15]

The theatre and Presbyterianism were introduced into Montreal at almost the same time, and like the Presbyterians, the theatre came by way of the British American colonies to the south. An English troupe had been playing in America and, caught by the hostility of the

rebels, had attempted, like other loyalists, to make its way into friendly Canada. The players were permitted to play in Albany, in December 1785, but with reluctance, and when "the season for passing the ice" arrived, they crossed the St. Lawrence and reached Montreal. Making use of the quarters in which regimental amateurs were accustomed to perform, the players prepared for their Canadian debut. On the 27th of February, 1786,[16] just a few weeks before Bethune first gathered together his little congregation in Notre Dame Street,[17] the troupe gave its first performance. It was Oliver Goldsmith's play, "She Stoops to Conquer".[18]

The theatre met with limited success in Montreal. The number of English speaking inhabitants was small, and in all probability, a majority of the actors were of mediocre talent. Relations between the theatre and the Protestant Churches were good. On the 5th of July, 1786, the Rector and Wardens of the Church of England acknowledged receipt of thirty-one pounds, twelve shilling and one penny from the treasurer of the theatre which was obtained from the proceeds of a benefit night for the Protestant Poor.[19]

An actor was one of a number of itinerant Americans including dentists, showmen, and teachers who came to Montreal often for only a short stay. The first entry in the St. Gabriel Street Church register is the burial of Zenas Nash, "a stranger from Massachusetts".[20]

Their sense of isolation and estrangement in Montreal in times of misery, is vividly pictured by an actor, Charles Durang. His friend, John Mills, had died, alone, in the midst of one of Montreal's raging blizzards. Remembering the scene, Durang writes, "But few friends any of us had. Montreal was not large then. Stone houses, tin roofs, iron doors and window shutters gave it the appearance of huge prisons, and the narrow streets, blocked with snow, were dreary avenues leading to the doors of the various cells. A few Canadian habitants roving through the streets with their grey capots, leggings and tuques, were all the persons you would meet with, excepting an occasional group of soldiers and a guard."[21]

It is pleasing to read that the general public often rallied to the support of the unfortunate, with an open heart. In speaking of John Mill's death, in 1809, Charles Durang continues:

> However, when it was known that poor Mills was no more by the English merchants and officers of the army, we were cheered by the general sympathies which were elicited on the occasion. A Boston merchant, Mr. Holmes, who had a branch at Montreal, came forward in a most handsome manner and offered his services and purse and wrote a beautiful obituary eulogy on Mills. On the day of the funeral, Col. Proctor, commander of the 41st signified his intention of attending. The body was placed in a mahogany coffin, and deposited on sleigh runners, drawn by one horse, followed by some half dozen actors and a dozen gentlemen of the city to the place of burial in the Quebec suburbs. As we passed the Champ de Mars, Col. Proctor and his officers joined the cortege on foot.[22]

Some of the fur traders who came to Montreal from Albany at the time of the American Revolution were to become Montreal's leading citizens. Because the fur trade was to play an important part in the building of the St. Gabriel Street Church, we shall now consider the fur trade in Montreal with emphasis on its connection with the United States, Canada and the Presbyterian Church.

Long before the conquest of New France by Great Britain, Canada's prosperity had depended on the profits obtained by the trade in peltries. The French had cultivated good relations with the Indians from whom they obtained furs and the English merchants who carried on the trade after the conquest continued to do so.[23] This was not too difficult because the interests of the fur traders and the Indians were highly compatible. "Indian culture, though altered and debased, could alone survive in a fur trading colony; and the fur trade could alone continue within Indian society with its sparse population and roving hunting traits. Merchants and Indians alike opposed the advance of settlement from the Atlantic seaboard for settlement meant both the ruin of the fur trade and the downfall of the hunting races."[24]

It was a common practice for the Scottish fur traders to acquire Indian wives in the interior. Marriages were performed according to accepted Indian customs and

children born of the union generally remained in the west with their mothers.[25] A child might be brought east however, and in the register of the early Presbyterian Church is occasionally recorded the baptism of a trader's son or daughter whose mother was from the Indian country.[26] Indeed, John Bethune's eldest son, Angus, born in 1783, who entered the service of the North West Company, had his son, born of an Indian mother, baptized by a successor to his father, the Rev. James Somerville, in 1815.[27] There was no censure of these marriages expressed in early Presbyterian records but, of course, we cannot be certain of private judgments.

Montreal's fur trade was simplified by the good relations which existed between the English traders and the Indians, but its unique advantage lay in its situation on the one great natural route to the interior of the continent, the St. Lawrence waterway. The combination of these elements and the natural aptitude of the French Canadian for the fur trade, led to Canada's assuming a leading position in the fur trade during the French regime.[28]

After the conquest, the organization of the fur trade passed into British hands.[29] English companies specialized in manufacturing goods suitable to the trade[30] and English traders in North America were learning from and

cooperating with seasoned French traders. Albany began to vie with Montreal as the fur capital of America.

The English merchants of the province of Quebec complained of the competition from merchants from the province of New York, in the upper country, and of the confusion which resulted from their lack of undivided control in the area.[31] England knew that the most satisfactory means of bringing furs from the interior of the continent to the sea was through the funnel of the St. Lawrence drainage basin. She also knew the importance which the British mercantile community attached to the fur trade. Consequently, she yielded to the merchants' demands and made the Ohio Valley the southern border of the province of Quebec by the Quebec Act of 1774.[32]

Albany suffered a second blow on the heels of the first. With the outbreak of the American Revolution, the vital supply of British manufactured goods was halted, and trade was interrupted.[33] The severance of British connections at the end of the war was disastrous, and Albany was no longer able to compete with Montreal.

Phyn Ellice and Co. of Schenectady, who specialized in supplying rum, spirits, and tobacco, for the Canadian trade, were cut off from their suppliers after the outbreak of the American war. When the Canadians began to import rum directly from the West Indies and

England, the American firm was forced to quit Albany and re-establish its North American base in Montreal.[34]

Simon McTavish was the most distinguished of the traders who made their way to Montreal at the time of the American Revolution. He had been engaged in forwarding rum from Albany to Detroit in 1774, and the following year, in partnership with George McBeath, owned a boat of thirty tons which plied between Lake Erie and Lake Huron.[35] Other distinguished Canadians who came to Montreal by way of northern New York were John Richardson and James McGill, although the latter had already lived in Montreal at intervals from 1766 until 1775 when he made it his permanent residence.[36]

Montreal's fur trading community consisted of men who, as a rule, had been born in Great Britain. Some among them, including Richard Dobie and Isaac Todd settled in Montreal soon after the conquest.[37] Others arrived later. Of the latter, some, as we have seen, first settled in Albany and later relocated in the city after conditions in New York became adverse to the trade. The move to Montreal was based not so much on political considerations as economic ones. "Like the other traders from the colonies, Alexander Henry, Simon McTavish and the Ellices, he [Peter Pond] felt no strong allegiance to any government but allegiance to Great Britain was a

prerequisite to a supply of manufactured goods essential to the fur trade."[38]

Generally speaking, the outlook of the fur trading merchants from New York who moved to Montreal at the time of the revolution was continent-wide. Where the furs were to be found in North America, and the easiest means of bringing those furs to market, were their primary concerns. They were prepared to meet whatever challenge the vast, unexplored continent offered with daring and determination. When the fur trade was obviously to be centred in Montreal, they undertook to create a high place for themselves, not only in the trade to which they were committed, but in the city to which destiny had guided them.

The manner in which they organized the trade and created the North West Company, and in addition exerted pressure on the government to enact legislation which would benefit and not hinder the fur trade, are subjects beyond the scope of this work. However, the Presbyterian church which they played a large part in establishing, and which reflected some of their characteristics, is a vital part of our study.

Prof. Creighton remarked of the fur traders in Montreal,

> The great majority of them were Protestants. But with few exceptions, they were neither enthusiasts nor fanatics and they displayed little of the sternness of Presbyterian Scotland or the intolerance of Puritan New England. There was a growing element of sedate and sober respectability among the group. They gave some of their time and money to the Protestant churches; and in 1791 a few of the principal Montreal houses and the 'Gentlemen of the Northwest' put up some three thousand pounds to build a Scottish church in St. Gabriel Street, which, like McGill University, was founded on fur packs.[39]

We shall examine this statement. The fur traders had indeed become wealthy and were no religious zealots. Duncan's observation concerning an English merchant, in 1819, in Lower Canada, could be applied to the fur merchants of that and an earlier day. He remarked, "I found a gentleman on the Sabbath forenoon very busily engaged in posting his books, and the following day no less busily engaged in conversation with his clergyman upon the affairs of the congregation; in which I understand he is a leading man!"[40] The type of life led by the fur traders probably reenforced their aversion to the zealot. The fact that on their lengthy journeys into the heart of the continent they were for long periods of time away from the ministrations of the church would reduce their dependence upon it. Possibly, too, their Indian marriages led to a feeling of restraint in their relationship to the church.

This does not mean, however, that the church was

unimportant to them. Prof. Creighton has probably underestimated the interest taken by the fur merchant in his church. In "Church and Sect in Canada", Prof. Clark emphasized "...the close relationship of the development of religious organization to the development of other forms of social organization in the community."[41] The fur merchant in Montreal providesan excellent example. He was a vital part of Montreal's social and political community and just as much a part of its religious community. To build the first Protestant church in Lower Canada, was no small undertaking, and yet the fur trader accomplished it. The magnitude of the task is illuminated by the remark of the Anglican Bishop, in 1789, when he was contemplating the construction of a church and likened it to the task of setting a ladder against the moon.[42] Because the fur trader was no religious fanatic, it does not follow that his interest in the church as an institution was lukewarm.

A few tradesmen, both of American and British origin, may have been among the early Presbyterian congregation in Montreal. The fur traders and loyalists probably provided its bulk. It is doubtful if this diverse group would have come together without the organizing ability and the energy of the Presbyterian minister, John Bethune.

The Rev. Mr. John Bethune, minister of the first congregation of Presbyterians in Montreal was born on the Island of Skye in 1751,[43] and obtained his M.A. from King's College, Aberdeen.[44] He was licensed by the Church of Scotland before he left[45] with his parents and a group of highland emigrants for the Carolinas.[46] The little group arrived at their destination shortly before the outbreak of the American Revolution.

In 1775 Colonel Allan MacLean received royal authority to form a regiment, which was later gazetted as the "Royal Highland Emigrants", and afterwards as the 84th Regiment of Foot. To enlist recruits, he made a rapid tour of the Highland settlements in the Carolinas in the summer of 1775 before proceeding to the Johnson plantations on the Mohawk River in New York state. An inducement to recruitment was the promise of land grants in the provinces at the conclusion of the rebellion.[47] It is probable that John Bethune, then an unmarried man of twenty-four, was attracted by MacLean and became an active loyalist and a chaplain in the Royal Highland Emigrants.

In February of the following winter, Bethune is said to have been captured at the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge,[48] which took place eighteen miles above Wilmington. The loyalist force consisted of sixteen hundred men and the Whigs numbered only eleven hundred, yet the engagement

which lasted but three minutes, proved to be a decisive victory for the Whigs and a humiliating reverse for the loyalists.[49] During the same winter, other loyalists, among them members of the Royal Highland Emigrants, heroically defended Quebec against American attack and finally forced the invaders to withdraw.[50]

In an exchange of prisoners, Bethune was released, and found his way to Halifax where he is said to have assisted in the recruitment of Highland soldiers of the old 78th and 42nd Regiments as well as other Gaelic speaking settlers.[51] Apparently he then proceeded to Canada, and continued to serve as chaplain to the Royal Highland Emigrants until peace was concluded.[52] He was in attendance on the garrison stationed at Carleton Island in 1784.[53]

At the close of hostilities, John Bethune was demobilized and lived in Montreal on his half pay.[54] He had already married Veronique Wadden, the daughter of a professor at the University of Geneva, in Montreal, on the thirteenth of September 1782,[55] six months following the death of Veronique's brother, Jean Etienne Wadden, who had been killed in a fracas at Lac La Ronge in the distant hinterland of the continent where he had been engaged in trading furs.[56] John and Veronique Bethune had nine children, several of whom became distinguished and

influential. Probably some of the credit for his children's success may rest with John Bethune who "as a husband and a father must be remembered among those who have done their duty well."[57]

John Bethune would have no difficulty in securing the support of Montreal's Presbyterian community. He would attract many Anglicans as well. As we have pointed out, the Anglican minister was a French Protestant whose English was halting. Bethune was married to an Anglican[58] and had many friends among the Anglican communion. John Strachan, the future Bishop of Toronto, became a friend of his when they were near neighbours in Cornwall.[59] Through Mrs. Bethune's family connection with the fur trading community, fur merchants might be drawn to the Presbyterian Church. However, Mr. Bethune's most telling asset was his pleasant personality. Robert Campbell describes him as having a "dignified presence and engaging manners as well as a chivalrous spirit."[60] His obituary notice which appeared in the Montreal Gazette of September 25, 1815, describes him as, "a man remarkable for the mildness and agreeableness of his manners, but at no time deficient in that spirit which is requisite for the support of the character of a Christian and a gentleman. He understood what was due to the powers that be, without losing sight of that respect which was due to himself."

Unfortunately we know little of the services performed by Bethune in Montreal because none of his records apparently remain. Plainly, The Rev. Mr. Chabrand de Lisle, pastor of the Anglican church, thought he had performed weddings and christenings in Montreal because in a querulous preface to his register he remarked that, "The Revd. Mr. Bethune, a Presbiterian clergiman (sic) having officiated for about Three years in this Town among those of his profession has left lately without giving a copy of the Marriages and Christenings performed by him."[61]

Bethune is said to have left his congregation because of "want of support".[62] He received a large grant of land in Upper Canada.[63] His rank as chaplain, in the Royal Highland Emigrants was equivalent to that of a captain and entitled him to a basic grant of 3,000 acres.[64] He made his new home in Williamstown. The want of support, of which Mr. Bethune complained may possibly be accounted for by the fact that his congregation was dwindling because other loyalists had already left Montreal to claim land in Upper Canada.[65]

A few months after Mr. Bethune's arrival in Upper Canada, Lord Dorchester wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

> Inclosing a List of the Protestant Clergy in Canada and informing the Society that the two allowances of £ 50 made to Mr. Bethune and Mr. Bryan therein mentioned, have been made in compliance with the repeated solicitations of the numerous new Settlements of Loyalists at New Oswegatchie and New Johnstown, as a temporary assistance towards maintaining a Clergyman at each of those places. The Mr. Bethune was formerly Chaplain to the 84th Regiment.... They were both Gentlemen of good character, and have suffered much for their loyalty in the late War. That his Lordship apprehends Mr. Bethune's being a Member of the Church of Scotland will be no objection, as the Settlement in which he officiates is composed of People of that Church, who particularly solicited his appointment.[66]

The "temporary" assistance granted Mr. Bethune was continued for the rest of his life.

Bethune seems to have established friendly relations with the Anglicans in Upper Canada and at the same time to have upheld Presbyterian rights. A meeting to consider the construction of an Anglican church, was held "in the "Presbyterian Meeting House" of Strachan's friend, the Rev. John Bethune," in 1805.[67] On the other hand, Bethune incurred the displeasure of Lieut. Governor Simcoe by criticizing the marriage act of 1793 which gave Anglican clergymen in Upper Canada the privilege of performing marriage ceremonies without the necessity of obtaining licences, a privilege withheld from other denominations.[68]

Although occupied in bringing up his own large family and in performing his duties as a Presbyterian

minister, John Bethune did not lose contact with Montreal after his departure for Upper Canada. He was a member of the first Presbytery of Montreal which is said to have been formed in 1793 and on which sat Mr. Alexander Spark of Quebec City and Mr. John Young,[69] Bethune's successor in Montreal. The Presbytery soon was discontinued, but Bethune continued to visit Montreal periodically. In September of 1800, he brought his son, Alexander Neil, to Montreal to be baptized by Mr. Young.[70] Again in September of 1803, he was in Montreal to take part in the ordination and induction of the Rev. James Somerville,[71] the successor of Mr. Young in the Presbyterian pulpit in Montreal. He apparently was with Mr. Somerville in Montreal during the last week of February in 1808.[72] There were probably other times as well when he visited the city, of which we have no record.

Following John Bethune's departure for Upper Canada in 1787 the small congregation of Presbyterians in Montreal disintegrated. The loyalist element within it, who remained in Montreal, worshipped with their Anglican brothers in the Recollet Chapel. Not again were they to play a large role in Montreal's Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian fur traders and merchants also joined the Episcopalians. However, unlike the loyalists, they were to play the leading part in the formation of the

next congregation of Presbyterians which was established a few years later.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

*With the publication, in 1956, by Prof. Walsh of "The Christian Church in Canada",[1] a beginning was made in the writing of Canadian church history. Little has been written about local churches and their ministers. Apart from Presbyterian church histories used in this thesis, as far as we know, early Presbyterian church histories in the province of Quebec include little beyond the history of Erskine Church in Montreal,[2] St. Andrew's in Quebec,[3] and St. Andrew's in Three Rivers.[4] Life histories have been written of Mr. Christmas[5] and Dr. Mathieson[6] of Montreal and Dr. Spark[7] of Quebec. In order to increase the knowledge of Montreal's early Presbyterian Churches we have included what information we have found concerning these churches and their ministers.

[1]H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956).

[2]Guy Tombs, One Hundred Years of Erskine Church Montreal (1833-1933) (Montreal: The United Church of Canada, 1933).

[3]Robert Stewart, St. Andrew's Church (Presbyterian) Quebec An Historical Sketch of the Church and its members (Quebec: 1928).

[4]Walter G. Jones, St. Andrew's Church Three Rivers one hundred years 1844-1944 (1944).

[5]E. Lord, Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Stibbs Christmas (Montreal: Lovell, 1868).

[6]John Jenkins, Life of the Rev. Alex. Mathieson D.D. (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870).

[7]Daniel Wilkie, "Memoir of Dr. Spark" The Canadian Christian Examiner September 2, 1837.

[1]Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), p.176.

[2]Ibid., p.41.

[3]Ibid., p.28.

[4]John Irwin Cooper, The Blessed Communion The Origin and History of The Diocese of Montreal 1760-1960 (Montreal: The Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960), p.8.

[5]Marcus Lee Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p.64.

[6]Some of the early members of the Presbyterian church in Montreal were Germans. The wife of one of its outstanding men, of whom we shall speak later, was a loyalist from northern New York, of German extraction.

[7]"Church and State Papers for the years 1787 to 1791." Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1953-54 et 1954-55 (Queen's printer), p.95.

[8]Campbell, p.73.

[9]W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, George Eayrs, (ed.) A New History of Methodism (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), Vol. II.

Plate V facing p.56 contains three interesting prints relating to the work of Philip Embury. Plate VII facing p.66 contains a picture of Barbara Heck.

[10]D.A.B. Vol. VI, p.125.

[11]Townsend, Workman, Eayrs, Vol. II, p.201.

[12]Campbell, p.73.

[13]The Canadian Courant, July 8, 1820.

[14]A. H. Young, "The Bethunes" Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records (Toronto: 1931), Vol. XXVII, p.555.

[15]Campbell, p.315.

[16]Franklin Graham, Histrionic Montreal (2nd ed.; Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1902), p.14.

[17]Campbell, p.28.

[18]Graham, p.14.

[19]The Montreal Gazette, July 5, 1786.

[20]The Register of the St. Gabriel Street Church, p.1.

[21]Graham, p.31.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Isabel Craig, "Economic Conditions in Canada 1763-1783", (Unpublished Master's dissertation, McGill University, 1937), p.95.

[24]Donald Gordon Creighton, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937), p.32.

[25]George F. G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp.5-6.

[26]See The Register of the St. Gabriel Street Church.

[27]Register St. Gabriel, 1815.

[28]Harold A. Innis, Peter Pond Fur Trader and Adventurer (Toronto: Irwin & Gordon, Ltd., 1930), p.22.

[29]Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada An Introduction to Canadian Economic History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p.169.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid., p.180.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid., pp.183-4.

[34]Craig, pp.103-104.

[35]Innis, Peter Pond, p.75.

[36]Maysie MacSporran, "James McGill, A Critical Biographical Study", (Unpublished Master's dissertation, McGill University, 1930), p.7.

[37]Innis, Fur Trade in Canada, p.194.

[38]Innis, Peter Pond, p.142.

[39]Creighton, p.25.

[40]John M. Duncan, Travels through part of The United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819 (Glasgow: University Press, 1823), Vol. II, p.223.

[41]S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p.433.

[42]"Church and State Papers for the years 1787 to 1791", p.109.

[43]Campbell, p.25.

[44]Young, "The Bethunes", p.559.

[45]Robert Campbell asserts that proof of Mr. Bethune's ordination in Scotland is to be found in The Christian Recorder, Toronto, 1819. Campbell, p.172.

[46]Young, "The Bethunes", p.553.

[47]P. H. Bryce, "The Quinté Loyalists of 1784", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records (Toronto: 1931), Vol. XXVII, p.7.

[48]Young, "The Bethunes", p.553.

[49]D.A.H., Vol. IV, p.20.

[50]Campbell, p.26.

[51]Ibid.

[52]The Montreal Gazette, September 25, 1815.

[53]Young, "The Bethunes", p.553.

[54]Ibid., p.554.

[55]Although Miss Bethune, the daughter of the Rev. C. J. S. Bethune, states that the marriage of John Bethune and Veronica Waden took place in New York, [Young, "The Bethunes", p.559], the marriage must have taken place in Montreal because it appears in the register of its Anglican minister. Report on Canadian Archives, 1885. (Ottawa, 1886) p.lxxxiv.

[56]W. Stewart Wallace, (ed.) The MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (3d ed. rev. London: MacMillan, 1963), p.776.

[57]The Montreal Gazette, September 25, 1815.

[58]Young, "The Bethunes", p.554.

[59]A. H. Young, "The Mission of Cornwall, 1784-1812", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records (Toronto: 1929), Vol. XXV, p.483.

[60]The Montreal Gazette, September 25, 1815. Campbell, p.32.

[61]"Register of the Anglican parish of Montreal, 1766-1787", Douglas Brymner (ed.) Report on Canadian Archives 1885 (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1886) p.lxx.

[62]Campbell, p.28.

[63]N.M.I.L., "Letter to the Editor", The Presbyterian Vol. I, 1848.

[64]Campbell, p.28.

[65]N.M.I.L., The Presbyterian, 1848.

[66]"S.P.G. Journal XXIV", Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records (Toronto: 1931), Vol. XXV, p.487.

[67]Young, "The Mission of Cornwall, 1784-1812", p.483.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Campbell, p.51.

[70]Register St. Gabriel, September 7, 1800.

[71]Campbell, p.174.

[72]Between the twenty-second and twenty-ninth of February, 1808, Mr. Bethune seems to have been with Mr. Somerville. He witnessed the ceremonies performed by the latter. They may have gone to Mount Johnson together, as a number of the people for whom the ceremonies were performed were residents of Mount Johnson. (Register St. Gabriel Street Church).

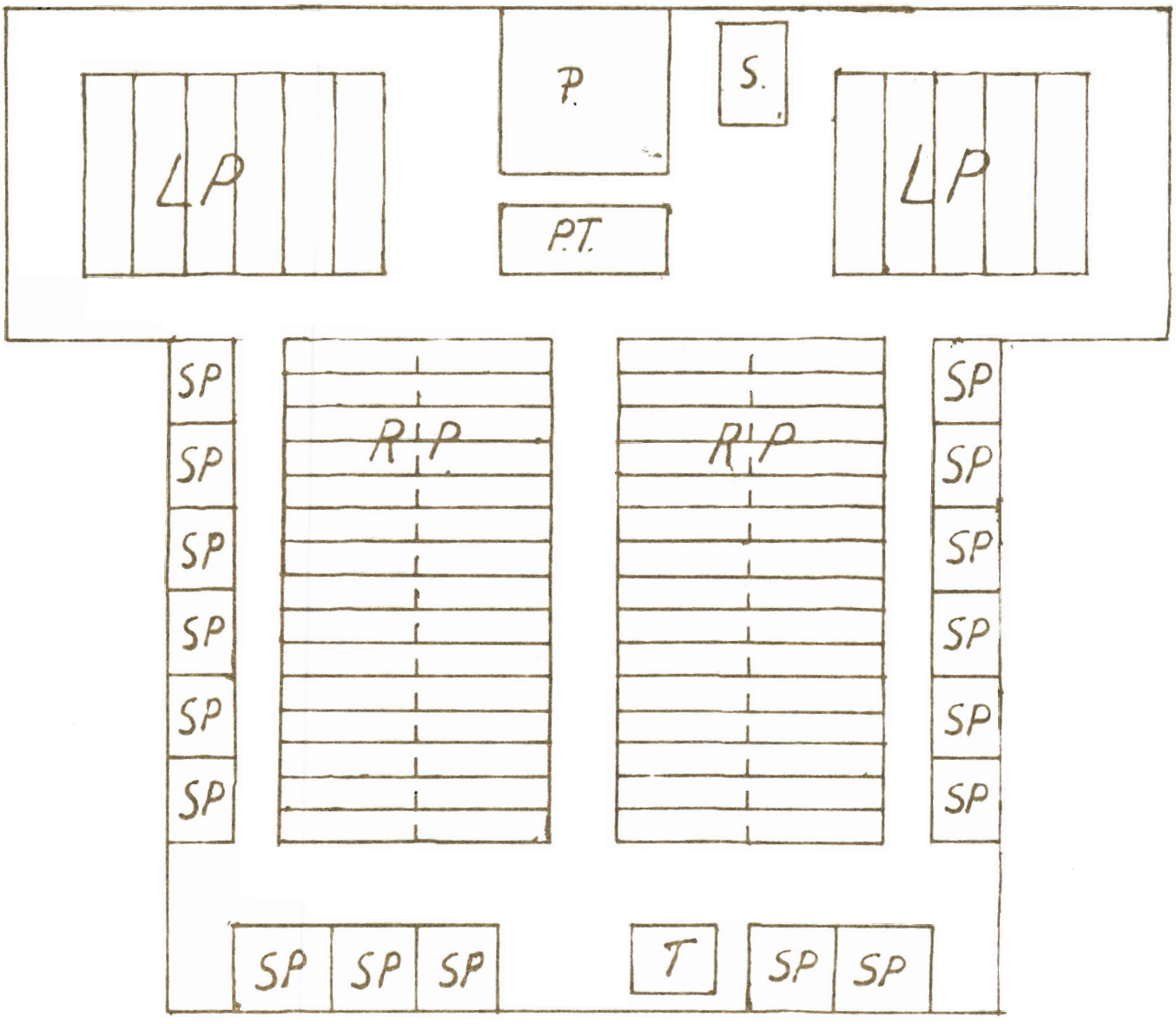
ST. GABRIEL STREET CHURCH

MONTREAL

D. McDOUGALL

St. Gabriel Street Church
(Probable Arrangement)

KEY:
- P - PULPIT
- PT - PRECENTOR'S TABLE
- S - STOVE
- SP - SQUARE PEWS
- LP - 6 SITTERS
- RP - 5 SITTERS
- T - TABLE



D. McDougall

CHAPTER II

THE REV. MR. YOUNG AND THE BUILDING OF THE ST. GABRIEL STREET CHURCH

Although Presbyterians and Anglicans were among the inhabitants of Montreal who greeted the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia at the time of his visitation in 1789,[1] within two years the Presbyterians had hived off from the Anglican Church, formed their own congregation, and secured their own minister. Energetically they proceeded to build a church, and by autumn 1792, the St. Gabriel Street Church was opened for divine worship.[2] It was the earliest Protestant Church built is Lower Canada.[3] In this chapter, we shall consider the background of the man who was to become its first minister, the composition of the committee which undertook its construction, the church on its completion, the measures taken by the committee to finance it, and the success which they achieved.

The Reverend Mr. John Young, the first Minister of the St. Gabriel Street Church, was born in Beith, Scotland,[4] in 1759, and licensed but not ordained by the Presbytery of Irvine in 1785.[5] Soon afterwards, he emigrated with his family to America. We hear of him again in 1787 when, in June, he was accepted by the Presbytery of New York, with the approval of Synod, as a probationer to visit the vacancies northward and westward of Albany,[6] a

region which, after the middle of the 18th century, was settled mainly by Scots.[7] In the autumn of the same year he accepted a call to Schenectady and Currie's Bush.[8] Greatly weakened during the troubled revolutionary period, the two congregations had been joined to form one pastoral charge but had difficulty supporting a minister.[9] Indeed, in May of the following year, the stipend of the previous incumbent was in arrears, and John MacDonald, the first minister of the Presbyterian Church in Albany, himself a licentiate of the Church of Scotland,[10] and Dr. John Rodgers of New York, attempted to arrange a settlement in order to pave the way for Young's ordination and his induction to the charge.[11] They appear to have been successful because in August, 1788, John Young was ordained by the Presbytery of New York and thereby became a minister of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Dr. McWhorter of Newark and Dr. Rodgers of New York, two of the ablest men in the Presbytery were present,[12] Dr. McWhorter to give the charge and Dr. Rodgers to preside,[13] an indication of the concern for outlying areas felt by the Presbyterian Church in the United States following the revolution.[14]

Despite this auspicious introduction to his American ministry, Young was soon in trouble. In November of the following year he absented himself, without permission of Presbytery or the knowledge of his

congregations, from the first meeting of the newly created Presbytery of Albany to which his charge was attached. Problems which concerned him were to be discussed at the Presbytery meetings, namely, a serious moral fault laid against him, and his own request for dismissal from his pastoral charge. Understandably, his unseemly absence was condemned, and, on his return from Montreal, Canada, he was called to repentance. Nonetheless, he was acquitted of the morals charge and relieved of his charge at Schenectady and Currie's Bush. The Presbytery retained him, however, as their stated supply to his former charge until their next meeting in March, 1791. Deficiency in the payment of his salary, was Young's reason for requesting dismissal from his congregations, and, as arrears in the stipend of the previous pastor had already occurred, he was probably justified. It is more difficult however to justify his trip to Montreal at so inopportune a time.[15]

Although Robert Campbell states that this visit was Young's first to Montreal, it was probably not his first contact with Montrealers. Loyalists and late loyalists had crossed into Canada from New York for a number of years.[16] Merchants and traders from Albany had been travelling north to Montreal from the time of the conquest to join Canada's growing mercantile community.[17] Word probably came back to Young of the golden opportunity

which would await a young Presbyterian minister, particularly one of Scottish descent, in Montreal, and he decided to make this rushed, ill-timed visit to see the city for himself. Then he would finalize his plans, and return to the United States before the Presbytery had finished its sittings. Montreal Presbyterians were eager to attract him. They agreed to pay his moving expenses from Schenectady,[18] and in May, when they planned to collect "Mr. John Young our minister's" first yearly salary they agreed also that it should commence "the first day of January the present year",[19] despite the fact that the Presbytery of Albany had retained him as stated supply to his two former congregations at Schenectady and Currie's Bush for the first three months of the year.[20] Unfortunately the amount of Mr. Young's stipend is not known. In March, 1791, Young declined a call to Currie's Bush and New Scotland,[21] and thus broke all ties with his congregations in northern New York.

His connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States was not completely severed however, because a tenuous, ill-defined relationship was established between the Presbytery of Albany and the Montreal congregation and minister. Of short duration, nevertheless, it was the only official connection of any kind which existed between a Montreal congregation and the Presbyterian

Church in the United States before the establishment of the American Presbyterian Church and, for that reason, is important to this study. We shall trace its course and attempt to assess its importance.

The Presbytery of Albany received a letter from John Young in September, 1791, in which he described himself as preaching in Montreal, Canada, and asked to be appointed stated supply in that place. At the same time another letter was received, this time from the congregation, requesting that it be taken under the Presbytery's care.[22] The correspondence on behalf of the congregation was carried out by Duncan Fisher,[23] one of its members. Both requests were granted and in this manner, the Presbytery of Albany became responsible for the Montreal charge.

When a year passed and no word was received from their stated supply in Canada, the Presbytery ordered a letter to be written requesting an explanation. Two replies were received before the next meeting of the Presbytery in February, 1793, one from Young and the other from the congregation. Both asked to be relieved of their ties to the Presbytery of Albany, for the purpose of joining a new Presbytery about to be formed in Montreal.[24] Reasonably enough, the Presbytery agreed to the release when the new Presbytery had actually been created. In June, according to Young and the congregation, this had

been done and minister and congregation were turned over to the care of the Presbytery of Montreal.[25] The Presbytery of Albany made no enquiries about this new Canadian Presbytery, its composition or affiliation, and were probably glad to be relieved of responsibility for Young and the congregation. The reason for Young and the Montreal congregation's original request to be taken under the American Presbytery's care needs to be ascertained.

In September, 1791, when Young and the congregation applied for admission to the Presbytery of Albany, a sub-committee of the temporality committee of the Montreal congregation had already been given permission "to treat with a Mason for the purpose of Building the Church."[26] Although these plans had been made, there was as yet no indication of the financial support which might be forthcoming. By February, 1793, when they asked to be dismissed, the church was completed. Wealthy merchants and gentlemen of the North West had subscribed generously towards its construction, and bought pews on its completion. The church was quite capable of an independent existence.

We are led to conclude that, since letters from Young and the congregation were sent almost simultaneously and contained identical requests, it is probable that Young, unwilling to sever his connections completely with the Presbyterian Church in the United States in the early

uncertain days of the congregation, persuaded Duncan Fisher to write on behalf of the congregation and thus back up his own request to be continued as stated supply of the Presbytery of Albany. When it became obvious that the St. Gabriel Street Church was able to fend for itself, the unnecessary and alien tie was quickly and quietly dissolved.

It is possible that some within the congregation were unaware that a tie with the Presbytery of Albany existed. It appears that no congregational meeting authorized Duncan Fisher to negotiate on their behalf, nor did he discuss the matter within the temporality committee although he was one of its most active members. Although Mr. Bethune seems to have had a session,[27] no session was appointed by Mr. Young until 1792, after Duncan Fisher's first letter to Albany had been written, and Fisher was not a member of Bethune's early session although he was a member of Young's first session.[28] To have negotiated without official sanction from the congregation, Fisher must have been confident of his unchallenged position of leadership within the congregation.

No records of the first Presbytery of Montreal have been discovered. Gregg suggests that it consisted of John Bethune of Glengarry, Alexander Spark of Quebec, and John Young of Montreal, along with the ruling elders of their congregations.[29] Scraps of evidence remain, however,

pertaining to it. In John Young's obituary notice we read, "He became moderator of the first meeting of Presbytery which ever met in Canada."[30] On May 4, 1803, the St. Gabriel Street committee book records a letter which was received from James Somerville, in Quebec, to inform the committee, "That the Rev. Mr. Spark would positively join Rev. Mr. Bethune in ordaining him [Somerville] provided Mr. Young was not of that Presbytery."[31] In an account of a later Presbytery of 1803, we read, "The former Presbytery of Montreal having been by unfortunate circumstances dissolved, the Rev. Mr. John Bethune, Minister of the Gospel at Glengarry, in Upper Canada, formerly a member of the said Presbytery and the Rev. Mr. Alexander Spark, Minister of the Gospel at Quebec...".[32] No mention is made of the latter having been a member of the defunct Presbytery. We therefore conclude that Spark withdrew from the first Presbytery of Montreal soon after its creation because of an altercation of some kind with John Young its first moderator. Young seems to have remained on friendly terms with John Bethune, however, because in September, 1800, he baptized Bethune's son, Alexander Neil,[33] who was to become the second Bishop of Toronto. A Presbytery usually consists of representatives of at least three charges and therefore, with the withdrawal of Spark,

it would be difficult to maintain a Presbytery unless ruling elders from the Quebec congregation were sent, an unlikely possibility.

The St. Gabriel Street Church had experienced no ecclesiastical supervision by the Presbytery of Albany, and none from the first Presbytery of Montreal. Indeed, during the entire period with which we are concerned St. Gabriel Street Church was, to all intents and purposes, an independent congregation.

John Young was thirty-two years of age on his arrival in Montreal. A description of him, although when he was older, reads, "He is still remembered by the oldest inhabitants and is described as a man 6 ft. 6 inches tall and very stout, 'with an eye in his head like a hawk'... His wife, [Mary Kerr], was of corresponding proportions."[34] He already had two children, a daughter Kitty, born in Scotland,[35] and a son, Samuel, born during his residence in the state of New York.[36] He had met the educational and moral requirements of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, where the moral character of a candidate and his personal qualifications were carefully scrutinized. In Scotland, the candidate was examined, but more impersonally than in the United States. We read that the Presbytery of Transylvania, in 1796, gave their judgement of a prospective

candidate in part as follows, "Mr. Steele being before Presby. the Moderator gave him a plain representation of what had passed in conversation respecting him, as to the defects of his lectures and composition in general, as to the volatility of his temper and want of the gravity and prudence which should characterize a candidate for the ministry and as to some jealousies which existed in the minds of Presby. concerning his present sincerity and his future usefulness...".[37] John Young had convinced the Presbytery of New York of his suitability, but he certainly possessed character weaknesses. These did not become apparent to his congregation until after he had been in Montreal a few years.

The visit of Bishop Charles Inglis to Montreal in 1789 marked the last time the Anglican and Presbyterian communities were to act together as an homogeneous group without denominational self-consciousness. After his departure, the Montreal Anglicans were given, by Lord Dorchester, the use of the Jesuits' Church henceforth to be named Christ Church for Bishop Inglis' old church in Dover.[38] Possibly the appearance of a Bishop in Montreal reawakened bitter memories in the minds of some Presbyterian Scots. Certainly it freed the Recollet church, and soon the Presbyterians seem to have claimed it for their exclusive use. Arrangements were made with the Recollet clergy for

the use of their chapel and on the 25th of June 1791, the treasurer of the temporality committee gave them "a Hogshead of Wine for the use of their church."[39]

Unfortunately, we cannot retrace the steps taken to bring together the Presbyterian congregation in the Recollet Chapel. From early records, however, we find that Duncan Fisher was the leading spirit. Mr. Young appointed a session in 1792, consisting of three members, and Fisher was one of them.[40] After the temporality committee was formed, of which Fisher was a member, he was given the responsibility of choosing the site of the church and purchasing the ground.[41] He carried out the correspondence of the congregation with the Presbytery of New York, without consulting any official body within the Church.[42] There is little doubt, therefore, that Duncan Fisher was behind the move to draw the Presbyterians from the Protestant Episcopal Church and establish them in the Recollet Chapel. For that reason, we may call Duncan Fisher, "The Father of the Presbyterian Church in Montreal."

A committee to manage the temporal affairs of the congregation was elected on the 8th of May, 1791,[43] and continued in office until 1800.[44] It was directly responsible for building the St. Gabriel Street Church and financing it. Because of its importance, therefore, in the history of the Presbyterian Church, we shall examine

the composition of this group of men, to ascertain if possible the occupation, and native land, of its members.

The committee consisted of sixteen men.[45] Two of them, George King and John Robb, are unknown and do not reappear in church records. Two others, Peter MacFarlene, a tailor and a resident of Montreal before 1765,[46] and Alexander Fisher, a brother of Duncan Fisher and an innkeeper, also dropped quickly out of church affairs.[47] Alexander Hannah and John Empie were the only members said to be loyalists and they, too, quickly disappeared from the St. Gabriel Street Church, the former by death,[48] and the latter by removal to Upper Canada.[49] The ten remaining members were Richard Dobie, Alexander Henry, Adam Scott, William Stewart, Duncan Fisher, William England, John Lilly, William Hunter, Thomas Oakes, and John Russel.[50]

Alexander Henry, the intrepid fur trader who arrived early in[51] Montreal, was an influential member of the temporality committee. His name appeared first on the list of subscribers with a handsome subscription of £ 20.[52] Richard Dobie, its first president, had settled in Montreal before 1765,[53] had become a wealthy merchant, and owned a store on St. Gabriel Street.[54] Adam Scott, William Stewart, John Lilly, William Hunter and John Russel were also successful merchants in Montreal.[55] The three remaining members were William England, a cooper, Thomas Oakes, a

tinsmith and Duncan Fisher a shoemaker. These ten men were all of Scottish or English birth.

As we have seen, loyalists were of little importance on the committee and there were no others of American birth. The committee represented Montreal's commercial community, fur trader, wealthy merchant and tradesman. Scottish merchants established themselves successfully in Montreal, thanks to the rich upper country furs, the resourcefulness of the fur traders, and, above all, their own business acumen. The temporality committee set itself to build a church in which to worship according to the usage of the Church of Scotland as established by law,[56] with the same energy and competence which characterized their commercial ventures.

The committee was elected on the 8th of May, 1791, and before the month had ended, Duncan Fisher was commissioned "to purchase a Lot of Ground suitable for Building a Church". The only stipulation was that, "he is to consult the precident, [sic] Treasurer, & Clerk, previous to closing the Bargain".[57] "The committee are of opinion that should Ground for a Church be Bot [sic] even a Twelvemonth before they could commence the Building, it would not be a miss."[58] At the following meeting a month later, the lot still not having been purchased, the committee recommended to Mr. Fisher "to expedit the purchase

of the Lott (sic) for the church as soon as possible on the former plan." On the 26th of September, Duncan Fisher had "finally settled the purchase of the Lott". It was at the same meeting that Mr. Hannah, Mr. Scott, Mr. Duncan Fisher, Mr. Oakes, and Mr. Russel were commissioned, "to treat with a Mason for the purpose of Building the Church".[59]

The lot was situated on the east side of St. Gabriel Street at its northern extremity where it met the city wall, and it backed on the Jesuits' estate. Held by ten trustees appointed from the temporality committee members, in the name of the congregation, it was purchased from Madam Hertel for £ 100 Halifax currency.[60] Problems arose concerning the title to the lot. In 1807, "Mr. M. Blondeau of this city had made a demand on the committee for a sum of money under the name of cents et rentes due by the church to Representatives of the Jesuits and accumulating since the year 1792 at 4:13 p. annum. The committee having examined the Original deeds & finding the said dues therein expressed,-order that the same shall be paid..."[61] Already the church had taken the precaution of forming a committee to safeguard their rights to land released by the demolition of the city walls, and which might be claimed by the city.[62] The problem apparently persisted and in 1808, David Ross was given, by the congregation, full power to act on their behalf in this matter.[63]

A lot having been obtained, a sub committee was immediately formed, as we have mentioned above, "to treat with a Mason for the purpose of Building a Church". It was agreed that "the dimention (sic) of the Church be 40 feet wide by 54 long if the Ground cannot afford to make it 42 wide but if the latter can be done, preferred."[64] The end of the church was to be placed 14 feet from the wall of the Jesuits' garden and the church was to have a pavilion roof.[65] That the walls should be made of stone and mortar was accepted without question.[66] The church, as far as we know, was situated fourteen feet from the Jesuits' garden wall. Modifications were made to the rest of the plans however, because the completed St. Gabriel Street Church measured sixty feet by forty-eight feet, considerably larger than the original estimate.[67] Also, when the building was well under way, "The different tradesmen employed in Building this Church give their opinion a Pavilion Roof would not answer well which made the Com. (sic) alter their plans."[68] A peaked roof was substituted.

The completed St. Gabriel Street Church was simple but dignified in appearance. Like most eighteenth century Scottish parish churches, it was classical in style and well proportioned.[69] In 1809, the church acquired, along with a steeple and bell, cornice ornaments, and a new tin roof.[70] The church resembled a Scottish

parish church, it is true, but more important, it was quite at home in Montreal, built close beside its neighbours,[71] constructed of stone and mortar and shining brightly when the sun struck its tin roof.

Some Americans worshipped in the St. Gabriel Street Church from the time of its erection. To those from the state of New York, it must have appeared a fine, substantial structure. Many of the New York Presbyterian churches had been destroyed during the revolutionary war and reconstruction was delayed because of the depression which followed.[72] New Englanders were probably unimpressed. They were accustomed to a colonial Meeting House standing proudly on the village green alongside the Town Hall and school, white, like the village houses.[73] Andrew Drummond, who considered New England churches high in order of merit, quotes a distinguished critic, who said the New England church possessed, "a style which moves the emotions of many people to-day with a strength of appeal difficult to overestimate."[74] To many a New Englander who worshipped with the Scottish Presbyterians in Montreal, the St. Gabriel Street Church, crowded against the city wall, with its back to the Jesuits' garden and built of stone and mortar, must have seemed a dreary substitute to the church he remembered.

The interior of the St. Gabriel Street Church was

modelled on the T plan characteristic of many 18th century Scottish parish churches.[75] It had no chancel or communion table, because, as in Scotland, their need had been eliminated when the practice became general of erecting a temporary table, or tables in the nave of the church when communion was to be served.[76] Transepts existed, although probably no more than faint indications, because mention is made of pews situated "in the cross".[77] The interior was whitewashed[78] which probably explains "its bright and cheerful appearance" and it was said to have excellent acoustics.[79] The pulpit was the focal point, and it was placed against the east wall. It was raised above the level of the nave and reached by a carpeted flight of stairs.[80] It must have been simple, as the cost of pulpit and stairs together amounted to only £ 17/10/0.[81] The pulpit was of wood and covered with a green cloth after 1805.[82] Below it would be placed the precentor's desk[83] in keeping with Scottish tradition and possibly a pew reserved for the elders. During the winter a stove was added, with its pipes running throughout the building with egress by way of the windows at first, and later by chimneys.[84]

Several facilities were lacking. There was no vestry. The minister therefore, kept his clerical gowns at the home of a parishioner, William Ireland, who lived at No. 6 St. Gabriel Street. From there he proceeded on

foot to the church in his flowing gown, and up the "main alley"[85] to the pulpit to conduct divine worship.[86] In addition, there was no manse. None was obtained for the ministers of St. Gabriel Street Church until after the period with which we are concerned. Another, less serious lack, was that of a graveyard. Presbyterians shared a common Protestant burying ground with the Anglicans.

Additions were made to the church however. When the new roof was laid in 1809, a steeple and bell were added at the west end.[87] In 1822 a permanent shed for the storage of wood was erected on the grounds thus eliminating the unsightly winter shed which had been erected at the front door.[88] A stone wall with a wooden paling on it was built in 1810 to surround the front or west end of the building.[89] Within the church larger galleries were added in 1817, and three elegant imported chandeliers were hung.[90] After 1823 however, few changes were made to the structure of the church.

We have seen that the exterior of the St. Gabriel Street Church was modelled on the Scottish parish church, modified by conditions in Montreal. The interior arrangement of the church was characteristic of all Presbyterian churches of the period, American as well as Scottish. The means used by the Presbyterian Church in the United States and the Montreal temporality committee to finance a church

were similar, namely subscription lists for building the church and providing the minister's salary. Pew rents in both cases were the main source of a continuing income. The St. Gabriel Street Church was more successful in raising money than were most of the American frontier churches.

In the late eighteenth century American frontier communities, where new churches were most needed, resources were limited, and subscriptions were often inadequate. Consequently, lotteries, which were considered legitimate means of raising money, were frequently resorted to. Pew rents were often difficult to collect and recourse to collectors charging from 3 to 5 per cent commission was sometimes necessary after fines and threats of dispossession were unavailing. Payment was frequently in kind rather than currency.[91] These drastic measures were never adopted in the St. Gabriel Street Church. They were unnecessary.

The temporality committee of the St. Gabriel Street Church, in April 1792, agreed to finance the church by subscription, "and being of opinion that the weight of the Business would fall on the Congregation, had agreed, that when the pews in the Church would be finished they would be sold at public auction to the Highest bidder and each subscriber's money would go on account of his seat."[92] Enthusiastic support was received from "The Gentlemen of the Northwest", and the wealthy merchants of Montreal.

Contributors included the Roman Catholics, Simon Fraser and Nicholas Montour, as well as prominent Anglican and Presbyterian Montrealers. Among other names appear those of George McBeath, Joseph Frobisher, Simon Clark, Alexander McKenzie, Peter Pangman, William McGillivray, Angus Shaw, Roderick McKenzie, John Molson, James McGill, Andrew Todd, Cuthbert Grant, Jonathan Grey, and Sir John Johnson. In addition, sixty four pounds were collected at The Grand Portage, on Lake Superior probably from wintering partners, and brought back to Montreal. Another contribution was received from "Mr. Todd in London per Doctor Symes," amounting to one hundred sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence. The contribution was probably wrung from the English firms with which Todd had connections in London. Less prosperous Presbyterians contributed as well and some with surprising liberality. Thomas Oakes, a tinsmith in St. Paul Street, contributed 10 guineas and Samuel Adams, a tavern keeper from Pointe aux Trembles, 6 guineas.[93]

Parish churches in Scotland were held in trust by the heritor or landlord of the parish. In North American Presbyterian Churches, the heritor obviously had to be replaced in some manner. Trustees were usually appointed by the congregation to hold the church property in their names, before churches were allowed, by law, to

become incorporated. This was the method used by the St. Gabriel Street Church.[94] The Saint Gabriel Street Church discovered, at a later date, that, at the death of a trustee, his heirs succeeded to the appointment. We shall not attempt to deal with the legal troubles which resulted, when an attempt was made to rectify what was obviously an error.

The financial stability of the church depended to a large extent on pew rents and for that reason the church pews were of primary concern to the temporality committee. The larger the number, the greater the revenue, which probably explains the acknowledged fact that the pews were "uncomfortably narrow and straight in the back."[95] Thirteen long pews, each capable of seating six people were placed "in the cross". Seventeen square pews were situated on the sides of the main body of the church and sixty long pews "in the middle". The gallery contained thirty-two pews. Altogether the church was able to accommodate 650 persons, a large number for a church measuring 48 feet by 60 feet.[96]

A certain number of the pews were retained by the committee. In 1803, the committee decided that, "the first Eight Pews in the Body of the Church...be reserved for the use of Strangers and the Poor." They also reserved a side pew for the convenience of the pew proprietors.[97]

There were no pews reserved for military personnel until 1821,[98] although Mr. Young's chaplain's allowance commenced in 1794.

The North West Company purchased two pews for their own use in the north side of the church. The temporality committee paid John Devereux nine pounds, "for Sundries furnished N.W. Pew."[99] It was customary for the proprietor himself to furnish elegant trappings such as footstools and cushions. It is probable, therefore, that the nine pounds provided a permanent addition, possibly carpeting or a device of some sort. The North West pew was the only one to obtain special attention which leads one to conclude that the North West Company pew was the royal enclosure of the St. Gabriel Street Church and its partners, the royal family.

In this chapter we have dealt with the arrival of the first minister to the St. Gabriel Street Church and the creation of a temporality committee. We have discovered that the committee consisted entirely of the Scottish merchant class who immediately built a Scottish Presbyterian church in the traditional style and for the purpose of performing divine service according to Scottish traditional form. However, the financing of the church was of necessity, done in the independent manner characteristic of the American Presbyterian Church. Its success was

assured because it secured the patronage of the entire mercantile community in Montreal. We shall now consider the functioning of the church during Mr. Young's ministry and the division which arose.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

[1]"Church and State Papers for the years 1787 to 1791", Quebec, Rapport de l'Archiviste 1953-54 et 1954-55, p.96.

[2]Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), p.68.

[3]A small private chapel had been erected at Berthier six years earlier by the seignior, Hon. James Cuthbert. The St. Gabriel Street Church was the first Protestant church in Lower Canada opened for public worship. Campbell, p.62.

[4]Campbell, p.42.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p.43.

[7]James Hastings Nichols, Presbyterianism in New York State (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), p.55.

[8]Campbell, p.43.

[9]Nichols, p.55.

[10]Ibid., p.54.

[11]Campbell, p.44.

[12]Nichols, p.69.

[13]Campbell, p.44.

[14]L. J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p.265.

[15]Campbell, p.45.

[16]Marcus Lee Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p.64.

[17]Isabel Craig, "Economic Conditions in Canada 1763-1783" (Unpublished Master's dissertation, McGill University, 1937), p.100.

[18]Committee St. Gabriel, p.1.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Campbell, p.46.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Campbell, p.47.

[23]Campbell, p.72.

[24]Campbell, p.47.

[25]Campbell, p.48.

[26]Committee St. Gabriel, p.1.

[27]Robert Campbell states that William Hunter was Session Treasurer from the time of Mr. Bethune. He was a member of Mr. Young's session, in 1792, of which the other two members were Duncan Fisher and William England. Campbell, St. Gabriel, p.78 and p.76.

[28]Campbell, p.72.

[29]William Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada from the Earliest to the Present Time (2nd. ed. rev. Toronto: printed by the author, 1893), p.19.

[30]Annex III.

[31]Committee St. Gabriel. May 4, 1803. The underlining was not in the committee book record.

[32]Campbell, p.172.

[33]Register St. Gabriel, September 7, 1800.

[34]Annex II.

[35]John Young, in his register, on April 8, 1798, noted that the witness was his daughter Kitty Young. The signature of Kitty Young is similar to that of the Kitty Young whom Mr. Somerville married to George Martin, a baker, in 1805. As she was twenty years old at the time of her marriage, she must have been born in Scotland, prior to her father's leaving for America.

[36]Samuel Young also witnessed weddings performed by John Young. The signature is a childish scrawl, as Samuel was very young at the time. He was married on the thirteenth of February, 1808, by Mr. Somerville. The record appears in the register of the St. Gabriel Street Church.

[37]William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, Vol. II, The Presbyterians A Collection of Source Materials (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936) p.165.

[38]Philip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada (Toronto: Collins, 1963) p.49.

[39]Committee St. Gabriel, p.I.

[40]Campbell, p.72.

[41]Committee St. Gabriel, May 25, 1791.

[42]Campbell, p.72.

[43]Committee St. Gabriel, May 8, 1791.

[44]Committee St. Gabriel, August 17, 1800.

[45]Campbell, p.69.

[46]Public Archives of Canada, "Series C.O." 42, Vol. V. pp.28-33. "List of Protestants in the District of Montreal, Nov. 7, 1765," Governor Murray's Letter.

[47]Campbell, p.77.

[48]Campbell, p.77, and Register St. Gabriel, July 31, 1798.

[49]Campbell, p.77 and p.79.

[50]Committee St. Gabriel, May 8, 1791.

[51]Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, An Introduction to Canadian Economic History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p.170.

[52]Campbell, p.81.

[53]"List of Protestants in the District of Montreal, Nov. 7, 1765."

[54]The Canadian Courant, June 11, 1810.

[55]Campbell, pp.70, 71, 98, 77, 79.

[56]Campbell, p.64.

[57]Committee St. Gabriel, May 25, 1791.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Committee St. Gabriel, September 26, 1791.

[60]Campbell, p.64.

[61]Committee St. Gabriel, December 21, 1807.

[62]Ibid., May 4, 1803.

[63]Ibid., October 8, 1808.

[64]Ibid., November 28, 1791.

[65]A pavilion roof is one which is hipped evenly on all sides. Webster's New International Dictionary 2d. ed. 1951 Vol. II, p.1796.

[66]Committee St. Gabriel, November 28, 1791.

[67]Campbell, p.67.

[68]Committee St. Gabriel, January 30, 1792.

[69]Ian G. Lindsay, The Scottish Parish Kirk (Edinburgh: 1960), pp.60-65.

[70]Committee St. Gabriel, November 11, 1809.

[71]The Canadian Courant, April 14, 1821.

[72]Nichols, pp.66-67.

[73]Andrew Landale Drummond, The Church Architecture of Protestanism (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934), p.54.

[74]Drummond, p.61.

[75]Lindsay, p.59.

[76]Drummond, p.24.

[77]Campbell, p.67.

[78]Committee St. Gabriel, April 16, 1805.

[79]Campbell, p.68.

[80]Committee St. Gabriel, p.10.

[81]Ibid., pp.9-10.

[82]Ibid., April 2, 1805.

[83]Ibid., March 27, 1821.

[84]Committee St. Gabriel, October 28, 1803.

[85]The expression "main alley" appears in the committee book, October 28, 1803, and seems to refer to the central aisle of the church.

[86]Campbell, p.139.

[87]Committee St. Gabriel, May 12, 1809.

[88]Ibid., April 16, 1822 and November 11, 1809.

[89]Ibid., April 17, 1810.

[90]Committee St. Gabriel, March 30, 1817, and Campbell, p.67.

[91]L. J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition, (Philadelphia: The Westminister Press, 1959) p.204.

[92]Committee St. Gabriel, April 20, 1792.

[93]The amounts contributed, and the names of the contributors are recorded in the Committee Book, pp.13-15.

[94]Campbell, p.69.

[95]Campbell, p.68.

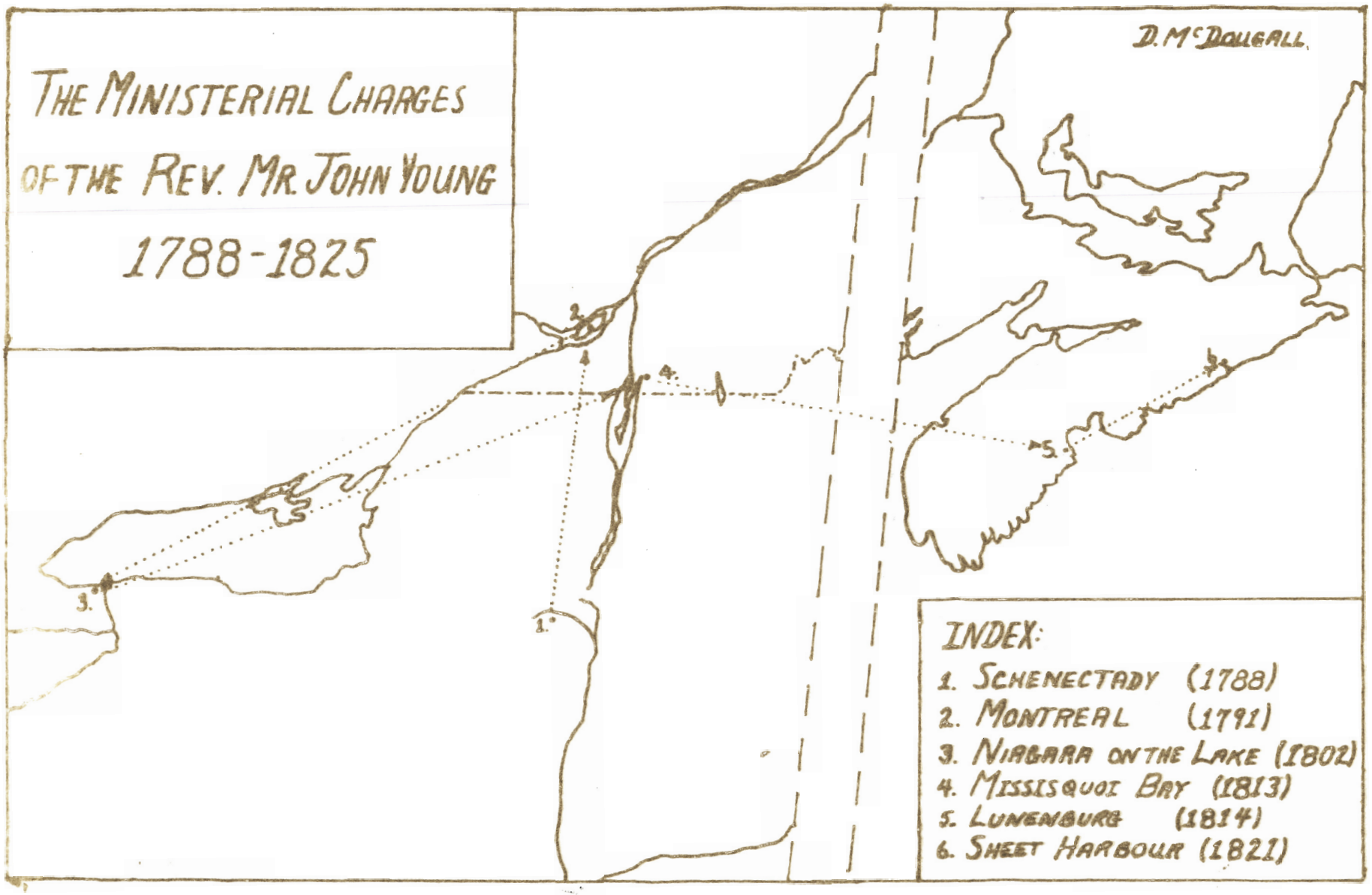
[96]Campbell, p.67.

[97]Committee St. Gabriel, November 4, 1803. It is uncertain why a pew was reserved for the convenience of proprietors. The notation reads, "Also the side pew no. 8 in case it should be wanted at ----- day for the convenience of proprietors in the Church". The missing word in undecipherable.

[98]Committee St. Gabriel, April 17, 1821.

[99]Committee St. Gabriel, p.9.

Compass directions assume Notre Dame Street to be running East and West.


THE MINISTERIAL CHARGES
OF THE REV. MR. JOHN YOUNG
1788-1825
D. McDOUGALL
INDEX:
1. SCHENECTADY (1788)
2. MONTREAL (1791)
3. NIAGARA ON THE LAKE (1802)
4. MISSISQUOI BAY (1813)
5. LUNENBURG (1814)
6. SHEET HARBOUR (1821)

CHAPTER III

THE DIVISION IN THE ST. GABRIEL STREET CONGREGATION

The St. Gabriel Street congregation divided in 1803, and the dissident minority formed a new congregation and built for themselves the St. Peter Street Church. It has been suggested that an American element in the original congregation was, in part at least, responsible for the split. To determine the truth of the suspicion, we shall examine the growth of the rift in the congregation and the final outcome. As John Young was the key figure in the controversy, we shall first give an account of his life and work in Montreal.

John Young brought his wife, Mary Kerr, whom he had married in Scotland, with him to Montreal in 1791 along with a daughter Kitty, and a son Samuel. Another daughter, Margaret, was born in 1792, the year the St. Gabriel Street Church was completed, to be followed by three more girls, Jane born in 1794 and twins, Hannah McKinslie and Sarah Scot, in 1796. Tragedy struck quickly and repeatedly and by the end of May of the same year, John Young had buried each of his four Montreal-born daughters in quick succession, in the presence of Duncan Fisher and William Forbes.[1] Another son, John, and another daughter, Janet

Hunter, had been added to the family before Young left Montreal.[2] Apparently Kitty and Samuel remained behind at that time, Kitty to marry a baker, George Martin, in 1805,[3] and Samuel to be apprenticed to a hatter.[4]

John Young's career moved gradually downhill after he left Montreal in the autumn of 1802. He first settled at Niagara, in Upper Canada, where he preached on Sunday and taught during the week,[5] possibly in the privately supported school favourably commented on by Michael Smith, an American schoolmaster, in 1812.[6] The population consisted mainly of American immigrants. The first few weeks of war in 1812 brought confusion and the cessation of business and it was probably then that Young and his family returned east. He preached to a small congregation near Lake Champlain, but soon seems to have pushed on to Nova Scotia where he first settled at Lunenburg, and then at the tiny village of Sheet Harbour north of Halifax in 1818 or thereabouts.[7]

Once again, Young assumed the double role of teacher and preacher. He was engaged on a yearly basis and not as the regular pastor, and he lived in the log school house which served as the church. After his death in 1825, a fellow Presbyterian minister asserted that, "His last days were a blessing to the people of Sheet Harbour". His grave was unmarked and was said to lie, "...on the sea-

beaten shore within a few yards of the water and within a few yards of the forest."[8] He left behind him an aged widow and one daughter, both deaf and dumb, besides several children in Canada. It is a touchingly tragic finish for a man who played a decisive part in establishing Presbyterianism in Montreal. His ministry in Montreal, like that of many ministers of his generation in North America had not been easy, and demanded a strength of will and moral character as well as bodily endurance beyond the ordinary and beyond John Young's capacity.

As minister of the St. Gabriel Street Church, John Young's duties were manifold. Several times each Sunday, winter and summer alike, he was expected to conduct divine worship. He was also responsible for the preparation and celebration of the Lord's Supper, performed twice yearly in February and August. After 1796, when he obtained an official register which empowered him to perform the ceremonies,[9] Young baptized, married, and buried members of his communion. He occasionally in 1798-99 - and 1800 performed these services for the Anglicans as well,[10] probably when the rector Mr. Tunstall, who was subject to attacks of mental derangement,[11] was incapacitated.

John Young received a chaplain's allowance of £ 50 annually.[12] In his register, military baptisms and

weddings were of common occurrence. Indeed, along with farmers and merchants, army personnel made up the bulk of the occupations recorded. Soldiers came from the Royal Canadian Volunteers, from the Royal Artillery, and less frequently from His Majesty's 26th, 60th and 4th regiment of foot. The great majority were men, although a few officers' names appear.

Young's duties were, at times, heartbreaking. As we have mentioned, he had occasion not only to baptize his own children, but to bury them. His four daughters were probably buried in the old burying ground within the city walls towards the western end of St. James Street, because it was not until 1799, that the first Protestant Burial Ground was purchased on Dorchester Street in the St. Lawrence suburb.[13]

Attendance at the regular services was limited, of course, to residents of Montreal or its immediate vicinity but people came to Young to be married or to have their children baptized from an incredibly extended area. South of the St. Lawrence they came from the county of Beauharnois as far west as St. Regis, from Chambly, La Prairie and St. John. They came from Chatham and Argenteuil in the Ottawa Valley, from Lachine and higher up the St. Lawrence from new Longueuil and even Glengarry in Upper Canada. Young made at least three missionary journeys

travelling as far as St. Armand and Caldwell's manor on Missisquoi Bay where he baptized and married, often performing many services on a single day.

John Young's duties were unending, yet he never appears to have taken a holiday while he was in Montreal. There is no indication that he revisited the congregations in northern New York, where he had been stationed, and he did not return to Scotland although he apparently considered it, at the time of his resignation, as he asked the congregation for, "a sum not less than one hundred pounds, which may enable me to land my family in my native land".[14]

Robert Campbell suggests that, "had he [Young] been fortified by the companionship and counsel of brethren in the ministry, he might have been a very useful pastor".[15] But although he was the only Presbyterian clergyman in Montreal, Young did not lack clerical companionship. He would have had little in common, it is true, with the Recollet Friars, although he probably was familiar with them from the early days when he conducted worship in their chapel. The order was in sorry straits, with their monastery largely deserted and to be requisitioned as an army barracks. The Jesuit neighbours were also in distress, with one of their buildings converted into an Anglican church, and the estates confiscated in 1800 when the last Jesuit died. The Catholics and Protestants in

Montreal appear to have lived on friendly terms during the whole period with which we are concerned. It was not until later in the 19th century when active efforts were made by the Protestants to proselytize French Roman Catholics, that relations became strained.

John Young had been associated with two fellow-Presbyterian ministers, Alexander Spark of Quebec and John Bethune of Glengarry, in the first Presbytery of Montreal. The latter was in Montreal occasionally. In 1800, as we have mentioned before, Young baptized Bethune's son, Neil Alexander, and in February, 1801, Bethune was in Montreal again and acted as a witness at a wedding performed by Young.[16] It was during the years 1800-1801 that the rift in the St. Gabriel Street Church became evident, and it was at that time that John Bethune was in Montreal and saw John Young. He might have supplied companionship and counsel to Young then but it is doubtful if Young confided in him.

Young's closest association must have been with the Protestant Episcopal pastor however. The membership of their congregations overlapped and they shared a common interest in poor relief and the burial ground. At the time of Young's arrival in Montreal, the Rev. David C. de Lisle had already ministered to the Protestant community for twenty-five years, and before Young's departure in 1802,

the long and effective ministry of its pastor, Jehosophat Mountain, the elder brother of the Bishop of Quebec, had begun.[17] Young must have envied the financial position of the Anglican pastor who received twice as large a chaplain's allowance as he, and whose stipend was paid by the government as well.[18]

We have no record of the amount of Mr. Young's stipend. Whatever the amount, he seems to have been frequently if not continuously in financial difficulties. In an urgent postscript to his final communication to the St. Gabriel Street congregation, he asked for, "A Present suply of ten Pounds relief for me from my present Embarrassments."[19] Again in 1812 the committee allowed its retiring treasurer, Joseph Provan £ 20 to cover the loans he had paid Young and had never collected.[20] In addition to his stipend, Young received £ 50 annually after 1794 from the Receiver General in payment of his service to the army.[21] Fees were not fixed for marriage or baptismal services but from his parishioners Young probably received gratuities.[22] Nevertheless, his total income was probably small and his stipend, collected and paid annually, would necessitate strict budgeting. His family was large and there was no manse. Young's weakness for alcohol and gambling was disastrous in these circumstances and finally led not only to financial embarrassment but to his forced retirement from the city.

After 1800, dissatisfaction with Young, which was centred in the temporality committee, seems to have grown and become loosely associated with dissatisfaction with the session. The association of the elders and the minister was close in the Presbyterian church and therefore it is not surprising that dissatisfaction should be directed at both.

In 1792, John Young ordained three men, William Hunter, Duncan Fisher, and William England to the eldership,[23] and to form, with him, the session of the church. The minister was moderator at meetings of session. He appointed the original session members, and along with the elders, made whatever additions were considered advisable. Duties of elders and minister centred on the spiritual oversight of the congregation.

The session of the St. Gabriel Street church assumed duties outside the spiritual realm however. They undertook to sell pews in the church, and to collect arrears in the pew rents. These duties they probably justified by reference to the practice of sessions in the Church of Scotland,[24] and appear to have been accepted by the temporality committee until about 1800, when a change in the relationship of the two bodies becomes apparent.

In May, 1800, the temporality committee met after being dormant for several years, "to consult upon the

best means of raising a sum of Two Hundred and Twenty Pounds still due on the Presbyterian Church, being sued for one half of the Ground rent still unpaid and being much disposed to pay the whole debt...".[25] The customary subscription lists met with only partial success. It is uncertain whether dissatisfaction with the session's method of financing existed at that time but very soon the committee's hostility to Young became apparent. Questioned concerning the legality of a wedding he had solemnized, Young justified his action and the charge was dropped.[26]

The second round in the battle between session and committee was preceded by a strengthening of the committee. Thirteen new members were elected. Although former members were invited to continue in office only four of the old guard remained and Duncan Fisher was not one of them.[27] The committee took direct action to curb the temporal power of the session by resolving, "The collections of the said Church with the Monies arising from the Pall, Should be Lodged by the Session in the hands of the Treasurers once every month in order to be applied as the Committee directs with this Exception that all orders from the said Session for their Special purpose will be Immediately answered by the Treasurers. This to Commence the first Monday in October...".[28] A more direct blow was struck when the committee resolved, "that two

members of the Committee shall be named annually to Collect the Pew Rents of the Church. The same to be lodged in the hands of the Treasurers in order to be applied as the Committee directs. This resolution to commence on the first day of January & to continue until the Debts of the Church is paid off."[29] The attack on Young was renewed, this time directly. The possibility of Young's retiring on an annuity was explored and it was decided to bring the matter before the congregation. However, on canvassing the church people, it was discovered that a majority favoured his retention and the suggestion was shelved.[30]

The committee seems to have been discomfited because they took no action of any kind for ten months. However, in the autumn of 1801, they regained vitality and dealt decisively with minister and session alike. It was resolved that, "a Meeting held at the House of Mr. Duncan Fisher in the Market place last Spring consisting of the Session with Some Members of the Committee when they resolved to sell the Pews of those in arrears with their Pew rents in the Church, was irregular and highly Improper being a Direct infringement of the powers vested in the Committee by the Congregation." It was further resolved that,"the Congregation having vested the Committee with

full power and authority to transact & to regulate everything relative to the Temporals or Civil affairs of said Church they are of Opinion that anything touching the premises done in future without their concurrence shall be considered as Illegal and of course not binding on the Congregation and that a Copy of this Resolution & preceeding motion be furnished the Session to prevent their pleading Ignorance in future".[31] An adroit move the temporality committee was to allow members of session to sit at their meetings,[32] a move which weakened the opposition. Duncan Fisher henceforth sat at temporality committee meetings. Means were formulated to remove the debt and the attack on Young was renewed.

It was acknowledged that spiritual discipline was administered by the session and for that reason the committee, in order to get rid of Young, was forced to apply pressure on the session, and this they proceeded to do. After the session refused to receive verbal accusations, written depositions were presented to them to substantiate charges of moral delinquency against Young. Forced to act, the session barred Young from administering the sacraments until his name was cleared. The dramatic climax was reached when Young, refusing to accept the ban, determined to serve communion in August, 1802, and to prevent it, on the 4th of August, the session, "Shut the

church against him." Then "They beg'd leave to lay their Situation before the Committee, requesting their Opinion on the Steps they had taken and their Aid in advising what might be farther necessary to relieve them in Their Embarrassed situation."[33]

It is from the record in the committee book that we have obtained the above account of part of the meeting of session and committee held on the fourth of August, 1802. Not recorded is the fact that only two, Duncan Fisher and William Forbes, of the five elders were present. Thus, a majority of the elders remained aloof from the final dismissal of Young. These three dissident elders were William Hunter, and William England, two of the three original elders, and James Logan who had been appointed later.

The congregation was again approached regarding the desirability of retaining Young as minister and appears to have reversed its judgment of 1800 and voted overwhelmingly for his dismissal.[34] Within a few days Young's resignation was in the hands of a member of the committee.[35] It is significant that certain members of the temporality committee had already communicated with Alexander Spark of Quebec, Young's old antagonist, regarding the suitability of James Somerville, a school teacher in Spark's congregation, and a licentiate of the

Relief Presbyterian Church, to replace John Young. Spark's reply reached Montreal the day before Young's official resignation was received.[36]

Before the end of August, Somerville had been brought to Montreal to conduct services, and plans were made to test congregational opinion regarding the advisability of presenting him with a call to the church.[37] No further action was taken until late spring of 1803 however. Somerville's teaching contract in Quebec did not terminate until then and difficulties had arisen relating to his ordination into the ministry. In the meantime, the still hostile dissident members of session had presented their own candidate to the congregation, the Rev. Robert Forrest, and he had preached several Sundays in the St. Gabriel Street Church.[38] He was an ordained minister of the Associate Secession Church of Scotland who had been brought to the United States by Dr. Mason, an outstanding minister of the Associate Reformed Church of North America.[39]

The committee realized the necessity of speed if trouble was to be avoided and on the first of June asked Mr. Spark, through Mr. Somerville, "to bring the business of Ordination to a Conclusion as Quick as the nature of things can possibly admit." The secretary was to transmit this letter by the first post.[40] By the end of the month,

arrangements for the ordination and for the payment of his stipend were completed and Mr. Somerville was requested to come to Montreal immediately, even before he was ordained, to commence his pastoral duties.[41]

It was too late however, and in July, the session locked the church door against James Somerville and his supporters using the same means that had been successfully employed against John Young. The plan failed because the congregation supported the temporality committee and Somerville. It was decided to supply new keys and locks if they became necessary. An attempt to effect a reconciliation with the session failed,[42] and the three dissenting elders and their supporters quit the St. Gabriel Street Church to form a new congregation.

From the above account, it is evident that the division within the congregation was not based on American or Scottish elements within the congregation. All three dissenting elders were born in Scotland. However, the social and economic disparity of the two parties is significant. In the list of proprietors of pews who signed a petition to retain the church for Somerville, and to attempt to reconcile the session, we find the names of John Richardson, James Dunlop, John Molson, Simon McTavish and James McGill,[43] who were among the most successful and influential men of their day in Montreal. The three

session members who led the opposition were William Hunter, a merchant but not one of the first order, William England, a cooper, and James Logan, a baker, none of whom were Americans.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States would probably have resolved the problems of the St. Gabriel Street Church in a less dramatic fashion. The frontier was frequently faced with the problem of an intemperate minister and it was the Presbytery which handled the matter and not the congregation involved. The Transylvania Presbytery rendered a typical judgment in October, 1804, which reads in part, "Upon the whole, we viewed the crime of drunkenness in the present circumstances of Mr. Mahon's case attended with very high aggravations and deserving the highest censure of our church. Wherefore the Pby. did agree to depose the said Wm. Mahon and he is hereby deposed from all the functions of the gospel ministry until his deepest sorrow for his sin and sufficient time of eminent and exemplary humble and edifying conversation have healed the wound and given full satisfaction to the church."[44] The St. Gabriel Street quarrel would have been dealt with more speedily in the United States. An annual report was expected from each congregation in the American church so that "any disorders taking place may be rectified before they become incurable."[45]

We may say, in conclusion, that the issues involved in the dispute within the St. Gabriel Street congregation were more fundamental than the suitability of John Young to minister to the church. This is proved by the fact that after his departure friction persisted, and even increased in intensity until it finally broke the congregation in two. In addition, it is apparent that the American element within the congregation was not responsible for the division because the three elders who led the secession, were all Scottish born. However, the American element within the congregation actively supported the dissident party, and assisted in the construction of the St. Peter Street Church. Before we attempt to discover the roots of the division in the following chapter, we shall examine the American element within the congregation.

An American element was present in the St. Gabriel Street congregation from its formation. Probably many of its members, whom we assume to be of Scottish birth, in reality came from across the border. Scottish names do not necessarily mean a Scottish background. A Biblican Christian name indicates strongly a New England background, and many of these names are found in Presbyterian records, names such as Nahum Mower, Nathaniel Goodwin, and Ephriam Smith. We shall now attempt to identify the Americans in the congregation, and, if possible,

their occupations.

Many of the farmers, who formed one of the major elements of the congregation, were American. This was especially true of the Missisquoi Bay area which Young visited at least three times, in 1796, again in 1800, and in 1801, baptizing children from both sides of the border and marrying numerous couples. Settlement in the Eastern Townships, which had been prohibited to loyalists, was encouraged after the division of the old Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada in 1791, and Americans entered the area in increasing numbers as the years passed. Vermont had already been penetrated by New Englanders. Although it entered the union in 1791, it remained economically tied to the St. Lawrence valley,[46] and its Canadian border took on an international character.[47] Most of the Presbyterians in Caldwell's manor, and St. Armand, whom Young visited, seem to have been of New England stock, but some may have come from New York's upper Hudson or Mohawk valley. Loyalists and later arrivals had come from that area of the state of New York to Canada after the revolutionary war and had originally settled in the area east of the Richelieu River, at Mount Johnson, and had resettled later in the rich borderland.[48] Young also baptized and married Presbyterians in the Mount Johnson area, who were almost certainly from upper New York.

The triangular area, west of the Richelieu between the American border and the St. Lawrence River also contained Presbyterians of American stock, who came to Young, in Montreal, to have services performed. These Americans had entered Canada by descending the Chateauguay River, and settling in the fertile land bordering it, disregarding the artificially drawn border.[49] Young's register contains names of settlers in this area who had made their homes as far west as St. Regis, the Indian settlement at its western extremity.

It is difficult to estimate the origin of the farmers of the Ottawa Valley, and higher up the St. Lawrence River, from Young's register, because of the small number involved. Lachine seems to have had a large number of Presbyterian farmers, some American and some Scottish. Montreal itself, is given as the place of residence of about one sixth of all the farmers, and they seem to have been of mixed origin as well, some American and some British.

The farmers in all probability, did not attend the St. Gabriel Street church except on special occasions, but, within the city, another group of Americans were more closely connected with it. These consisted mainly of the tradesmen and craftsmen of the city. The hatters, who worked with men's beaver hats as well as ladies' hats, seem to have been mainly Americans. Similarly the majority

of shoemakers appear to have been from the United States. The higher class of tailor was probably English, although others had New England names. Carpenters and cabinet makers, were almost entirely of American origin, as were the tanners. The two saddlers in the congregation were Germans, possibly from upper New York.[50] Some bakers were from the United States, but others, considered of a higher class, came from the old country. The American innkeepers, Abijah Cheeseman and James Watson of St. John, well-known to travellers, were part of Mr. Young's scattered flock. Three land surveyors are also included, of whom at least two, and probably the third as well, were from south of the border. Few of the merchants appear to have been of American origin, although, oddly, few of the principal subscribers to the church appear in Young's register.

A small German group was in the St. Gabriel Street Church at this time, some of whom may have come from upper New York State after the American Revolution. Among them were two saddlers, one tanner, two grocery storekeepers, and a tailor. There was also a wealthy German, Conrad Masteller, whose occupation is unrecorded. Robert Campbell states that he contributed towards the erection of a House of Refuge in Montreal.[51]

A negro element was also connected with the church, and undoubtedly came from the United States.

Slavery existed in Montreal under the French regime and under the English regime which followed. In August 1786, we read in The Montreal Gazette that a mulatto, about 24 years of age, who had just arrived from Detroit and spoke English and French, was to be sold privately.[52] Again in April of 1789, The Montreal Gazette advertised for sale, "a Stout healthy negro Man about 28 years of age, is an excellent cook".[53]

Several of the Presbyterian merchants were slave owners. John Grant of Lachine owned at least two negresses. Young baptized the daughter of Catherine, one of these negresses, probably at the same time that he baptized John Grant's own daughter, on the third of October, 1797.[54] The following year, Young baptized the son of another of Grant's negress slaves.[55] The children, according to the custom of the day, would be the property of John Grant. James Dunlop, a wealthy Montrealer, and an influential member of the St. Gabriel Street Church also owned a slave, William, who was baptized by Young on the 17th of November 1799.

An interesting negress, Judith, had a connection with the Presbyterian church. She had been bought by Elias Smith, a Montreal merchant, in Albany on the 27th of January, 1795, for £ 80.[56] She ran away in 1797 or early

1798, and was recaptured and imprisoned at the instigation of her master.[57] Although Judith was unable to read or write, she appears to have been bright, because she sought and obtained a hearing before the judge William Osgood who ordered her release and announced his intention of freeing any other negroes whose only offence was to have attempted to obtain their freedom. This was a triumph for negro slaves in Lower Canada.[58] Judith's daughter, Emilia, had been born on the 29th of December, 1797. She must have been given by Judith to John Grey, her father, who was the slave of John Hunter, because we find that Young baptized Emilia <u>in the presence of her father</u>, John Grey, on the 4th of March 1798,[59] four days before Judith was released from prison. When Young baptized Judith's son the following year, the father and mother were apparently free because no mention is made of Elias Smith, or of John Hunter.

Unfortunately, nothing appears to remain concerning the relationship of these negroes to the Presbyterian church. We know that their banns were read in the St. Gabriel Street Church. We do not know whether they received the Lord's Supper at their own table or sat in a separate area of the church, or were considered full members of the church as was the case with negroes in the city churches in colonial America.[60] Freedom for slaves seems to have been anticipated in the Presbyterian Church in

America because the Presbytery of Transylvania in 1794, at a meeting held in the Paint Lick Meeting House, on October 13, ordered, "that all persons under the care of Pby. holding slaves shall teach every slave not above the age of fifteen years to read the word of God and give them such good education as may prepare them for the enjoyment of freedom."[61]

Several generalizations may be made about the Americans. The outlying farmers were not considered part of the Montreal congregation. The negroes, are of interest only because little is known of them, and they took no part in church affairs. The remaining Americans, who were closely connected to the church, were tradesmen and craftsmen and therefore in a different class from the wealthy fur merchants who were responsible for the construction of the St. Gabriel Street Church. We shall examine the information which is available about two typical American families to illustrate some of their characteristics.

Horace Hibbard was a member of the St. Gabriel Street Church during this period. He had been a farmer in Beauharnois in 1802, where his marriage was witnessed by Ashley A. Hibbard and Valerian O. Hibbard.[62] The following year he had moved to Montreal and was working as a saddler.[63] Already in Montreal were Augustin Hibbard, a bailiff,[64] and Elisha Hibbard whose occupation is unknown.[65] Two other

members of the Hibbard family appear in the records. The first was Horatio Hibbard, a farmer at St. Armand,[66] and the other was Orpheus Hibbard, who lived at St. John in 1812, and was a hat maker.[67] The latter extended his interests and in 1820 was the proprietor of "The White House" on the site of the old half way house between La Prairie and St. John.[68] From this new location, he sold land "in the rich parish of Blairfindie".[69]

John Watson, was a tanner in Montreal in 1799,[70] whose marriage was witnessed by his brother, Alexander, of Albany. James Watson, whose children were baptized by Young, was an innkeeper in St. John.[71] When John Lambert, an English observer was forced to remain for three days in St. John because of bad weather, Mr. Watson, the American innkeeper, lent him an old paper called the Independent Whig, published in 1720. John Lambert declared that, "It contained much satire and invective against the high church or Tory party and the ministers of the established church."[72] William Watson, a Captain in the Dragoons, was living in St. John in 1814 and advertized in The Canadian Courant to recover an "elegant brace of dragoon's pistols,"[73] which had been stolen from him. After the war, James and William seem to have become partners at St. John in the forwarding business between Montreal and the United States.[74]

Simon Zelotes Watson, whose wife was christened by John Young, was a land surveyor at Chambly,[75] and in 1809 became a Justice of the Peace with authority to try cases in the townships of Hinchinbrook, Hemmingford, Sherrington, and Godmanchester, and to administer the oaths to be taken by the applicants for any grant of waste land or leases of the reserved lots of the Crown or Clergy of Lower Canada.[76] Joseph Whitman, another land surveyor and probably from across the border, lived in the seigniory of Lacolle and was married by John Young to Abigail Watson, Simon Zelotes' sister.[77]

The Americans were shrewd, hard working and frugal, according to observers. They took advantage of opportunities when they appeared, and in so doing became scattered across the country. They seem to have migrated in large family units, probably from the same village in New England. Almost always, they married fellow Americans and thus maintained their national identity.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

[1]Register St. Gabriel, May 8, 11, 15, 22, 1796.

[2]Ibid., July 23, 1797, and November 23, 1800.

[3]Register St. Gabriel, March 14, 1805.

[4]Ibid., February 13, 1808.

[5]The Acadian Recorder, March 19, 1825. See Annex III.

[6]Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1941), p.64.

[7]Annex II.

[8]Annex I.

[9]Register St. Gabriel, January, 1796, p.I.

[10]Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), p.56.

[11]John Irwin Cooper, The Blessed Communion The Origin and History of the Diocese of Montreal 1760-1960 (Montreal: The Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960), p.19.

[12]Campbell, p.71.

[13]Newton Bosworth (ed.) Hochelage Depicta The Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal (Montreal: William Greig, 1839), p.221.

[14]Campbell, p.58.

[15]Ibid., p.55.

[16]Register St. Gabriel, February 18, 1801.

[17]Cooper, p.19.

[18]Ibid., p.8.

[19]Committee St. Gabriel, August 9, 1802.

[20]Ibid., April 11, 1812.

[21]Campbell, p.152.

[22]Ibid., p.286.

[23]Campbell, p.76.

[24]Ibid., p.217.

[25]Committee St. Gabriel, May 30, 1800.

[26]Ibid., July 1, 1800.

[27]Ibid., August 17, 1800.

[28]Ibid., September 1, 1800.

[29]Ibid., September 15, 1800.

[30]Ibid., November 19, 1800.

[31]Ibid., September 18, 1801.

[32]Ibid., October 9, 1801.

[33]Ibid., August 4, 1802.

[34]Ibid., August 6, 1802.

[35]Ibid., August 9, 1802.

[36]Ibid. In the committee book it is placed after the meeting held on August 21, 1802.

[37]Ibid., August 25, 1802.

[38]Ibid., June 1, 1803.

[39]Campbell, p.169.

[40]Committee St. Gabriel, June 1, 1803.

[41]Ibid., June 26, 1803.

[42]Ibid., July 23, 1803.

[43]Ibid.

[44]William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier Vol. II The Presbyterians 1783-1840 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), p.197.

[45]Ibid., p.133.

[46]W. A. MacIntosh, "Canada and Vermont, A Study in Historical Geography." Canadian Historical Review, 1927. March, p.30.

[47]Marcus Lee Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p.73.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., p.76.

[50]Ibid., p.47.

[51]Campbell, p.140.

[52]The Montreal Gazette, August 23, 1786.

[53]The Montreal Gazette, April 2, 1789.

[54]Register, St. Gabriel, October 3, 1797.

[55]Ibid., December 10, 1798.

[56]Marcel Trudel, L'esclavage au Canada Francais Histoire et conditions de l'esclavage (Quebec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960), p.300.

[57]Ibid., p.303.

[58]Ibid., p.303.

[59]Register St. Gabriel, March 4, 1798.

[60]Leonard J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1949), p.207.

[61]Sweet, The Presbyterians, p.147.

[62]Register St. Gabriel Street, June 19, 1802.

[63]Ibid., September 21, 1803.

[64]Ibid., May 14, 1801.

[65]Ibid., April 11, 1796.

[66]Ibid., July 17, 1801.

[67]The Montreal Gazette, April 13, 1812.

[68]The Canadian Courant, November 18, 1820.

[69]Ibid., May 19, 1821.

[70]Register St. Gabriel, February 3, 1799.

[71]Ibid., May 1, 1800.

[72]John Lambert, Travels through Lower Canada and the United States of America in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808 (2d. ed. rev.; London: C. Craddock and W. Jay, 1814) Vol. II, p.97.

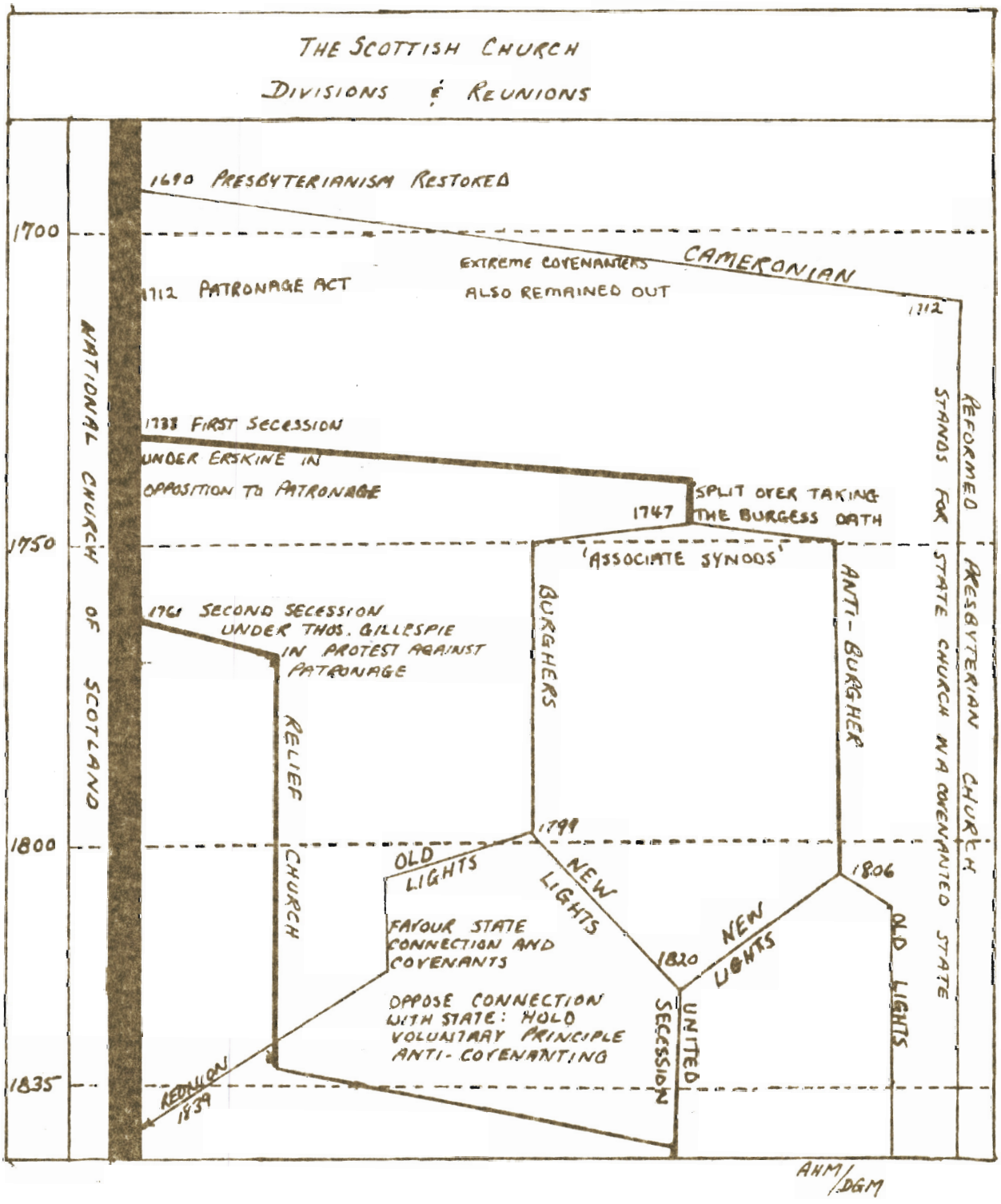
[73]The Canadian Courant, October 22, 1814.

[74]The Canadian Courant, August 5, 1815.

[75]Register St. Gabriel, February 17, 1797.

[76]The Canadian Courant, May 15, 1809.

[77]Register St. Gabriel, May 6, 1798.


THE SCOTTISH CHURCH
DIVISIONS & REUNIONS
1700
1750
1800
1835
NATIONAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
1690 PRESBYTERIANISM RESTORED
1712 PATRONAGE ACT
EXTREME COVENANTERS ALSO REMAINED OUT
CAMERONIAN
1712
REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
STANDS FOR STATE CHURCH IN A COVENANTED STATE
1733 FIRST SECESSION UNDER ERSKINE IN OPPOSITION TO PATRONAGE
1747
SPLIT OVER TAKING THE BURGESS OATH
'ASSOCIATE SYNODS'
BURGHERS
ANTI-BURGHER
1761 SECOND SECESSION UNDER THOS. GILLESPIE IN PROTEST AGAINST PATRONAGE
RELIEF
1799
1806
OLD LIGHTS
NEW LIGHTS
CHURCH
FAVOUR STATE CONNECTION AND COVENANTS
1820
NEW LIGHTS
OLD LIGHTS
OPPOSE CONNECTION WITH STATE: HOLD VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE ANTI-COVENANTING
SECESSION
UNITED
REDUNION 1839
AHM/DGM

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN MONTREAL

To grasp more firmly the history of the early Presbyterian Church in Montreal it is necessary to understand its historical environment. We shall now consider the history of Scottish and American Presbyterianism and how it is related to the Presbyterian Churches of Montreal during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In 1690, the Church of Scotland was, by law, based on Presbyterian doctrine and church government.[1] The government of the church by Sessions, Presbyteries, provincial Synods, and a General Assembly was reaffirmed. The system of patronage was soon reestablished and remained for well over a hundred years.[2]

The heritor, or landlord of a parish, was responsible for maintaining the parish church or replacing it if it became unusable. He was also responsible for the minister's stipend which was a fixed amount, but small.[3] He had the right to nominate the successor if a parish pulpit became vacant. It was because of this privilege of patronage that major divisions occurred within the Scottish Church.

The heritor might be, and frequently was, an Episcopalian. His choice was not always that of the congregation, and occasionally popular ministers were not given the appointment which the congregation expected. The Church of Scotland protested repeatedly against patronage but without success.[4]

The moderates of the church, as they were called, supported patronage, not necessarily because they approved of the system, but because it was legally binding. Moderates were usually broad minded, university trained, and often interested in secular scientific pursuits. The enlightenment had touched Scotland along with the rest of Europe. The opposition to patronage was led by left wing zealots of the Church of Scotland and by secession ministers.

The Church of Scotland was weakened by division during the eighteenth century. Indeed, the Scottish church was not united in 1690. The strict covenanters had, at that time, remained aloof from the national church. Although only a remnant is left, the church of the covenanters has survived until the present day and is known as the Reformed Presbyterian Church.[5] More serious secessions were to take place after 1690.

The first major secession was in 1733 as the result of a dispute over the rights of patronage. Led by

Ebenezer Erskine, the dissatisfied faction withdrew from the Church of Scotland. The seceding group soon re-divided over the right of a seceder to take the burgess' oath by which he declared the true religion to be that which was publicly preached in Scotland. Two secession bodies resulted, one known as the Associate Synod or Burgher Church, the other as the General Associate Synod or Anti-Burgher Church.[6] Yet another secession from the Church of Scotland occurred in 1761, when the Relief Presbytery was created to afford relief to ministers who were dispossessed of their living because of the workings of patronage.

It is significant to the history of the early Presbyterian church in Montreal that the issues within the Church of Scotland which led to division were unrelated to Scottish Presbyterian usages or polity. The seceders maintained the traditional Presbyterian form of worship. If they differed from Church of Scotland practice, it was towards more strict orthodoxy.

Secession congregations grew up mainly in the country districts or small towns in the lowlands and were made up of simple folk emphasizing personal piety. Their ministers were also pious and evangelical. As time passed, secession churches increased in numbers and drew members from the Church of Scotland.[7] Secession ministers and congregations received no government help and

consequently learned to fend for themselves.

Secession congregations were formed in the colonies. It may be asked why. The issues which had caused the divisions in Scotland were not present in North America. There were no heritors and no patronage as it existed in Scotland. On the other hand, it must be remembered that a second and even a third generation of seceder had been born since Erskine drew off the original group in 1733. To the new seceders, the old dispute would be less important than the character which their church had assumed over the passing years, a character which was more evangelical and pietistic than was the Church of Scotland.

In the preceding chapter we discovered that the division within the St. Gabriel Street congregation extended deeper than dissatisfaction with John Young. The fact that the new congregation which was formed under the leadership of the elders petitioned to join the Associate Synod of Scotland provides a key to the cause of the division.

In Scotland, the wealthy, conservative, Scottish Presbyterians remained within the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century. The St. Gabriel Street Church, after the division, retained the upper class of society in Montreal. It became the Church of Scotland congregation in Montreal. The three dissenting elders were less wealthy

or influential, yet with sufficiently strong convictions to withstand the efforts of some of Montreal's leading citizens, to effect a reconciliation. The St. Peter Street Church was formed by lower class Scots in Montreal, and the church was based on the pietistic, evangelical faith of the seceders.

Divisions within the Presbyterian church in Canada were, fortunately, less lasting than in Scotland. Habits had less force in a new environment. There were relatively few Scots in relation to the total population and therefore they tended to be drawn closer to one another. Hot issues in Scotland gradually grew lukewarm in Canada.

The movement towards reunion was soon evident in Montreal. In 1818, four secession ministers, among whom was the minister of the St. Peter Street Church, petitioned the Associate Synod of Scotland for permission to form a Presbytery. Almost immediately, they experienced a change of mind and determined to form an independent Presbytery and attempt to influence Church of Scotland ministers to join them. Although other factors were involved, part of the explanation for their change of heart was this desire to reunite Presbyterians within the colonies.

Although a division occurred in the St. Peter

Street Church in 1824, whose origin we shall trace to the historical traditions of its component elements, the urge to reunite has remained strong within the Presbyterian Church. The union of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland and the Canada Presbyterian Church in 1875, took place fifty-four years before a parallel union was consummated in Scotland.[8] The desire to unite extends beyond the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In 1925 the union of Congregationalists, Methodists, and a portion of the Presbyterians[9] in the United Church of Canada, was unique in the western world. The desire to reunite Protestant Christians has remained strong in Canadian ecclesiastical thought until the present day.[10]

A large proportion of the Scottish immigrants in Canada, during the period with which we are concerned, were from the Church of Scotland. The Presbyterian ministers who arrived during the same period were mainly from the secession churches. Secession ministers were usually evangelical and missionary minded,[11] and in addition were not state supported in Scotland. They were, therefore, more ready than were Church of Scotland ministers, to try their fortune in the new world. There were more secession ministers in Scotland than secession congregations and ministers sometimes had difficulty securing a charge. James Somerville, who became the minister of the St. Gabriel

Street Church in 1803, was a licentiate of the Relief Church in Scotland. After trying without success to find a position in Scotland, he came to Canada as a teacher. He did not become an ordained minister until after he came to Montreal in 1803. When the Glasgow Colonial Society was formed in 1825, the situation changed and the Church of Scotland, through the society, actively encouraged her ministers to emigrate to Canada.[12] Before that time, the Church of Scotland took little interest in the affairs of the colonial church.

The General Assembly was the highest ecclesiastical court of the Church of Scotland. Below it were provincial Synods, Presbyteries and the Sessions of the parishes. Lay as well as ecclesiastical representatives sat on each of these bodies.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States had a similar structure but it developed in the reverse order. Whereas the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was created first and retained supreme power, the Presbyteries in the United States came first and retained the power of annulling decisions arrived at by the higher courts by a majority vote.[13] Like the corresponding body in the United States, The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, when it was created, was not as powerful as was the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The duty of deacons within the Church of Scotland and the American and Canadian Presbyterian churches differed greatly. In the Scottish Church, a deacon was ordained in the same manner as an elder. His function was to see to the distribution of the poor funds of the church.[14]

In the Presbyterian Church in the United States, on the other hand, the deacons, who were set apart for their office in the same manner as an elder,[15] performed the duties of the heritor in Scotland. In the minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, we read the following recommendation, written in 1786,

> Pres [b] recommended that a competent number of Deacons be chosen in each church, whose office shall be to take care of and see to the right arrangement of the temporalities of the church, such as collecting money for building and repairing churches; providing linens, cups, etc. for the Lord's table; and directing the collection and payment of the minister's salary; and it is farther recommended that in the choice of Deacons a proper attention be paid to their Scripture character.[16]

In the Presbyterian Church in Montreal, as was the general practice in Canada, the function of the Scottish deacons was assumed by the elders. The eldership was the higher office scripturally and was, therefore, able to contain within it the lesser functions of the deacon.[17] The duties of the Scottish heritor or the American deacons was assumed in Montreal by the temporality committee of the

St. Gabriel Street Church, and a similar committee in the St. Peter Street Church which was sometimes called the Board of Managers.

It is obvious that, in looking for a method of building and financing a church and dealing with the temporal affairs of the congregation, the Montreal churches relied heavily on American experience. Yet the differences are great enough to warrant examination. Prof. John Grant has suggested that the Canadian church has often blended American and British traditions to obtain a distinctive Canadian form, and this seems to be true in the present case.[18]

After 1804, when the new Rules and Regulations of the St. Gabriel Street Church were made,[19] the proprietors of pews held supreme power. They elected from among their number, the temporality committee. The resemblance of the pew proprietors to the Scottish heritor is striking. In addition to looking after the temporal affairs of the congregation, like the heritor, they had the right to choose the successor when a parish pulpit became vacant. Like him, they were not necessarily members of the church or even Presbyterians. Some of them may well have been Anglicans or even Roman Catholics. The evils of patronage were as lightly guarded against in the St. Gabriel Street Church as they were in the Church of Scotland.

The St. Peter Street Church seems to have allowed voting privileges at congregational meetings to full communicant members only.[20] This practice became general in The Presbyterian Church in Canada. However, in The Presbyterian Church in Canada, members of the Board of Managers were not set aside publicly for their office as was the case in the United States.

The Scottish members of the St. Gabriel Street Church, who left it to form a new congregation, were sympathetic with the principles of the secession churches of Scotland. They were wholeheartedly supported by the American element in the congregation. What did the American Presbyterians in Montreal have in common with Scottish secessionists? The compatibility of the two groups may be seen in their religious beliefs, in their social position, and in their convictions regarding the correct relationship of church to state.

Like the secession churches, the Presbyterian Church in the United States possessed a high degree of piety and missionary zeal. German pietism in the Middle Colonies had paved the way for the great revival movements which had swept through New England and the Middle Colonies in the eighteenth century.[21] These revivals made an indelible impression on the Presbyterian Church in the United States, as may be seen from the following extract

from the minutes of the Transylvania Presbytery, written in 1786,

> Mr. Thomas Meek having offered as a candidate for the gospel ministry and being examined as to the operation of religion on his own heart, and the motives that influence him to seek the sacred office, agree to postpone the consideration of it until the next session; and assign him as part of trial this question, What is the nature of a true conversion and its natural order; and also a lecture on the 15th Psalm.
>
> The Presb. resolve to seek after and give proper encouragement to the members of our society scattered up and down in small settlements; to assist in organizing and supplying them as far as our circumstances will allow....[22]

Americans and secessionists had both fought against an established church. The secessionists had opposed the national Church of Scotland. The Presbyterian Church in America had bitterly fought against the establishment of the Anglican church in the province of New York before the American Revolution.[23] Both upheld the principle of religious equality.

This does not mean, however, that either church had accepted as quickly the idea of the separation of church and state. It was not until after 1820, when the liberal elements of the Associate Synod and the General Associate Synod of Scotland united to form the United Secession Church, that complete independence was affirmed by the secessionists. As late as 1780, state constitutions in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maryland made public provision for the minister of a town's choice along with the school teacher.[24] However, when the

Presbyterian Church in the United States formed its constitution, in 1786, it maintained that the duty of the civil authority should go no farther than, "may be necessary for protection and security and at the same time be equal and common to all others."[25]

In Montreal, secessionists and Americans would alike reject a national church whether Scottish or English. They would be less vehemently opposed to state support provided it was divided equally among all denominations. Once again, their ideas were compatible.

We may say, therefore, that spiritually the secessionists and Americans saw eye to eye. Their attitude to the position of the church in society was alike. In addition, they were socially compatible. Americans were mainly craftsmen and tradesmen. The secessionists, belonged to the lower strata of society as well.

A division occurred in 1824 in the St. Peter Street congregation and the American element left the church to form its own congregation. Although not the only reason, one cause was the difference which existed between Scottish secessionists and the American element, despite their seeming compatibility. We shall examine this difference.

From its early days in the American colonies,

the Presbyterian Church had been little bound by strict Scottish Presbyterian practices. Presbyterians had come from Ireland, as well as Scotland. They had been joined by Congregationialists from New England, and a scattering of other Protestants, including Huguenot, German, and Welsh. New Englanders had greatly influenced the early Presbyterian Church[26] and the Scotch-Irish at a slightly later date were to add their own colouration.[27] By the end of the eighteenth century, the Presbyterian Church in the United States had developed a distinctive character of its own. As early as 1765, a minority group within the church, of Scotch-Irish or of Scottish descent, complained of the introduction of Watt's Hymns into the worship service, because it was contrary to the rules of the Church of Scotland. The Presbytery to which they addressed the complaint replied that the Church of Scotland had never addressed the American Presbyterian Church on the subject, and that if it had, their authority would not have been recognized.[28]

It is not surprising, therefore, that stiff backed Scottish immigrants who were scandalized at the deviations allowed in the Presbyterian Church in the United States, formed a secession church known as The Associate Reformed Church of North America. John Duncan described the Associate Reformed Church in Philadelphia in the following manner, "We had a Scottish minister, a Scottish

precentor, and a Scottish congregation. The discourse was delivered with a strong national accent, the psalms were of the version which is in common use at home, and were sung to some of our well known old fashioned tunes."[29]

Dr. John Mason, one of the ministers of the Associate Reformed Church of North America was to influence the history of the St. Peter Street Church. Born in New York, he was educated at Edinburgh University and became one of America's outstanding preachers, and the minister of the Presbyterian Church on Cedar Street, in New York. Dr. Mason was a leading figure in the formation of a theological seminary in New York, later to be known as Union Theological Seminary. To build up a library for the projected seminary, Dr. Mason spent over a year in Britain and gathered together about three thousand volumes.[30] While in Scotland, he persuaded a number of young secession ministers to return with him to New York. Among that number were the first two ministers of the St. Peter Street Church.[31]

The Americans who formed part of the early Presbyterian Church in Montreal were even more tolerant than was the Presbyterian Church in the United States. They had been part of the varied throng of men and women who were pushing westward with the moving frontier. Many were from New England and in particular, Connecticut and

western Massachusetts. The Congregationalists in Connecticut had developed close links with the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and these links became even closer on the frontier. By the Plan of Union in 1801, a congregation might call a minister of the other church, or a congregation might consist of both Congregationalists and Presbyterians.[32] Coming from this atmosphere of mutual toleration on the frontier, Congregationalists and members of the Presbyterian Church in the United States joined Scottish secessionists in the St. Peter Street Church. The rigidity of Scottish Presbyterianism must have irked the tolerant Americans. It is probable that the seeds of division which bore fruit in the formation of the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal, were planted in the United States and in Scotland.

The St. Peter Street congregation seems to have first consisted of secessionists joined by Americans. Soon there was added to them, lower class Scottish inhabitants of the city who had come from the Church of Scotland. Robert Campbell's explanation is probably correct when he says, "...as a matter of fact, the congregation early became a second Scottish one, to which a certain class of the people of that nationality went, because they felt more at home in it."[33]

In Scotland, at that time, an alternative for

membership in the parish church was provided. Chapels-at-ease were recognized by the General Assembly in 1798. The St. Peter Street Church which was occasionally referred to as "The Presbyterian Chapel"[34] bore a resemblance to these Scottish chapels. No area was allocated to a chapel in Scotland, and it provided an alternative to the parish church when, for some reason, its ministration became unacceptable. The necessity of members of the St. Peter Street Church to return to the St. Gabriel Street Church for the performance of marriage and burial services increased its resemblance to the Scottish chapel. The latter was even more dependent on the parish church, however, being subject to the jurisdiction of its church session.[35]

Occasionally, Presbyterians, who played a part in American history, had Canadian connections and interests. Before we continue with the story of the St. Peter Street Church, let us examine such a case. William Smith and the Livingston family of New York, were connected with Canadian and American history and had strong Presbyterian beliefs.

Prior to the American Revolution, the Presbyterians in New York maintained determined opposition to Anglican domination. In 1751, when plans to build a college in New York were under consideration, the proposal that it should have an Anglican president and make use of

the Anglican liturgy, was vigorously opposed by "The Three Presbyterian lawyers", as they were called. Although unsuccessful in securing a non-denominational college, these three well-known men, William Smith, William Livingston and John Morin Scott, continued to struggle for Presbyterian rights, attempting to secure the incorporation of their churches, and vehemently opposing the establishment of an episcopate in America.

William Smith, one of these lawyers, was an American-born historian of the Province of New York and one of the few Presbyterians in New York to desert the colonial cause and join the loyalists. He was appointed Chief Justice of New York in 1779, although he was unable to hold office because military control continued until 1783 at which time the British evacuated the city. Smith then sailed for England but he returned to North America three years later to become Chief Justice of Quebec.

Although Smith remained a Presbyterian and was said by Bishop Inglis to have a "predilection in favour of dissenters", there is no indication that he helped towards the construction of the St. Gabriel Street Church, although he was living in Canada at the time. His death did not occur until 1793 a year after the completion of the church. His residence in Quebec City hardly justifies his neglect because contributions were received frommore distant places.

Through his wife, Janet Livingston, William Smith was connected with the influential Livingston family. Janet's first cousin, James Livingston was born in Montreal. His parents, soon after their marriage, came to the city from northern New York. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, James' parents returned to Saratoga County, New York but he and his brothers joined the army of General Richard Montgomery. In 1775, having raised a regiment of Canadian refugees, James managed to capture Fort Chambly with three hundred of his men and the support of fifty Americans. It was an important victory because it increased the American potential at St. John and his captives provided useful bargaining agents.

At the conclusion of the unsuccessful siege of Quebec, James Livingston, now a colonel, served with the American forces under Benedict Arnold. The climax of his career was reached at West Point, where he managed to help prevent Arnold's betrayal, by firing at the British vessel involved in the plot, and forcing it to abandon its position. This colourful Montrealer was married to Elizabeth Simpson another Montrealer, about 1774, and although there is no Livingston in early Presbyterian records, the name Simpson does appear.

The American founder of the Livingston family

was Robert, who settled in Albany in 1674, the year the colony was ceded to England. Robert was the son of a vigorous Scottish Presbyterian minister who had emigrated with his family to Rotterdam to avoid friction with the episcopalian party after the restoration. Robert became wealthy and secured land holdings of over 160,000 acres in two counties of New York. It seems fitting that one of the three Presbyterian lawyers, who upheld Presbyterian rights in New York against Anglican encroachment, William Livingston, should have been a grandson of Robert. William Livingston had been a partner of William Smith in New York, and an associate of his in codifying the laws of New York.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

[1]J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p.254.

[2]The Patronage Act was passed in 1712.

[3]Burleigh, p.302.

[4]Ibid., p.301.

[5]Ibid., p.263.

[6]Ibid., p.284.

[7]Ibid., p.324.

[8]For an account of the formation of The Presbyterian Church in Canada see J. A. Johnston, "Factors in the formation of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875." (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, McGill University, 1955).

[9]For an account of the formation of the United Church of Canada see S. D. Chown, The Story of Church Union in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930).

[10]G. P. MacLeod, "Canadian Presbyterianism", Papers Presented to the Western Section Alliance of Reformed Churches Throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, February 10, 11, 1942, p.58.

[11]N. G. Smith, "The Presbyterian Tradition in Canada", The Churches and the Canadian Experience ed. John Webster Grant (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), p.43.

[12]William Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada From the Earliest to the Present Time (2d. ed. rev.; Toronto: printed by the author, 1893), p.33.

[13]L. J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p.299.

[14]The Book of Forms (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1933), p.33.

[15]Trinterud, p.299.

[16]W. W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier Vol. II, The Presbyterians (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936), p.132.

[17]The Book of Forms, p.33.

[18]John W. Grant, "Asking Questions of the Canadian Past," Canadian Journal of Theology, July, 1955.

[19]Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), p.218.

[20]When the Laws and Constitution of St. Andrew's Church were formulated on the 12th of May, 1835, in Article XIII it was stipulated that members of the committee chosen to elect a minister must be full communicant members of the church.

[21]W. W. Sweet, Religion in Colonial America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p.274.

[22]Sweet, The Presbyterians, p.132.

[23]James Hastings Nichols, Presbyterianism in New York State (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), p.63.

[24]James Hastings Nichols, "John Witherspoon on Church and State", Journal of Presbyterian History (Lancaster Pa: September, 1964), Vol. 42, no. 3, p.170.

[25]Ibid., p.169.

[26]Robert Hastings Nichols, "The Plan of Union in New York", Church History (New York: The American Society of Church History, 1936), Vol. V, p.32.

[27]Trinterud, p.122.

[28]Ibid., p.197.

[29]John M. Duncan, Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819 (2 vols.; Glasgow: University Press, 1823), Vol. I, p.210.

[30]D.A.B., Vol. XII, pp.368-369.

[31]Campbell, p.180, p.169.

[32]For a disucssion of the relationship of the Congregational Church to the Presbyterian Church from pre-Revolutionary days see, Nichols, "The Plan of Union in New York."

[33]Campbell, p.180.

[34]The St. Peter Street Church is referred to as a Presbyterian Chapel in A Plan of the City of Montreal (Montreal: A. Bourne, St. Charles Barrommeé Street and C. Robinson, No. 10 St. Paul's Street, 1823).

[35]Burleigh, p.320.


ST. LAWRENCE STREET
ST. GABRIEL STREET
1
3
5
PLACE D'ARMES
ST. SULPICE STREET
6
7
ST. JAMES STREET
NOTRE DAME STREET
ST.
ST. PAUL STREET
HOSPITAL STREET
ST. SACREMENT ST.
ST. PETER STREET
4
RECOLLET ST.
ST. HELEN ST.
MCGILL STREET
COLLEGE STREET
THE COLLEGE
MONTREAL
1. ST. GABRIEL STREET CHURCH.
2. ST. PETER STREET CHURCH.
3. FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATION.
4. RECOLLET CHAPEL.
5. ENGLISH CHURCH (1814 –)
6. FRENCH CHURCH.
7. FIRST THEATRE (1804 –)
8. SECOND THEATRE (1818 – 1820)
D. McDOUGALL

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN ELEMENT IN THE ST. PETER STREET CONGREGATION PART I[1]

The small congregation which worshipped together in a room on Notre Dame Street after leaving the St. Gabriel Street Church, called the Rev. Mr. Robert Forrest to be its minister. He had been ordained by the Associate Synod of Scotland in 1798. He seems to have been unhappy in his charge. He was also too outspoken for the liking of his flock, half of whom he accused of being ignorant, and the other half, skeptical. When Dr. John Mason came to Scotland seeking recruits for the Associate Reformed Church of North America in 1802, Mr. Forrest was freed of his charge, "with a view to joining a group of brethren who were shortly to set sail with Dr. Mason for New York." On his arrival, Mr. Forrest was received into the fellowship of the Associate Reformed Church of North America.[2] It was on the recommendation of Dr. Mason that Mr. Forrest first visited Montreal. Soon afterwards, he moved to Montreal to be minister of the Notre Dame Street congregation. A few months later he received a call from the Pearl Street congregation in New York, and returned to the United States.[3]

Probably in the spring of 1804, the Rev. Mr. Robert Easton came from the United States to minister to

the struggling congregation. Like Mr. Forrest, he had been a minister of the Associate Synod of Scotland, and had been brought to the United States by Dr. Mason.[4] Like Mr. Forrest, when he arrived in New York, he would have been received into the fellowship of the Associate Reformed Church of North America.

On the second of November, 1804, at a meeting of the congregation, seventeen managers were elected to manage its temporal affairs. The active life of the congregation began after this preliminary step had been taken.[5] By January, a petition had been prepared in the name of the congregation, requesting a legal register for the use of its minister. The petition was refused and no official register was obtained by the St. Peter Street Church until after the conclusion of the war of 1812.[6] Nothing daunted, a month later the committee opened a subscription list for the purpose of building a church. The response was encouraging, because in the words of Dr. Mathieson, "It had been the unceasing desire of the congregation from their formation, to get a suitable place erected for public worship...".[7]

Two members of the Board of Managers, Alexander Rea, an American and William Hunter, one of the elders from the St. Gabriel Street Church, were commissioned to find a lot on which to build the church and to purchase it

on behalf of the congregation.[8] On the third of May, 1805, two lots were bought, from two ladies, on St. Peter Street for £ 180 and a joint annuity of £ 50 which was to be paid to these ladies with the stipulation that the amount would be reduced to £ 35/10/0 at the demise of either one of them. One of the ladies lived until after the division of the congregation in 1824, and must have received £ 35/10/0 a year from the St. Peter Street Church during the period with which we are concerned.[9]

The St. Peter Street Church was opened for public worship in the spring of 1807.[10] Mr. Easton remained its minister until 1824, when he retired on a pension.[11] Before we consider the church and its minister, we shall turn our attention to the Americans within the church, and the controversial role they played within the congregation and within the community.

If it is true to say that the St. Gabriel Street Church was founded upon fur packs it is equally true to say that the St. Peter Street Church was built on American aid. Among subscribers to the church were Americans living in the United States as well as American born members of the Canadian congregation. Of the £ 1500 which the church cost, £ 600 was collected from the United States.[12] Some of the money received from the United States may have come from relatives of American members of

the church, living below the border. Most of it probably came from the Associate Reformed Church of North America.[13]

One might ask why the St. Peter Street congregation did not align itself with the Associate Reformed Church. The title, Associate Reformed Church of North America was sufficiently comprehensive to embrace the Montreal congregation. The minister of the St. Peter Street Church had been received into the fellowship of the Associate Reformed Church. The American church was willing to give financial support to the little Montreal congregation. On the other hand, Scottish members of the church were familiar with Scottish not American churches. The American members, probably with very few exceptions, had come from the Presbyterian Church in the United States, or a Congregational Church, and not from the Associate Reformed Church. Most important of all, the new congregation, as we shall mention later, felt itself obliged to prove its firm allegiance to Great Britain, and an alliance with an American Church would be, under these circumstances, unthinkable.

Whether the Associate Reformed Church expected the little congregation in Canada to join them is unknown. Close touch was kept between the two, however, because before a lot was purchased in Montreal, the Associate Reformed Church had agreed to assist the congregation

financially on condition that the St. Peter Street congregation should remain within the secession church.[14] As we have seen in the previous chapter, the alignment of both the Associate Reformed Church of North America and the Montreal congregation was with the Associate Synod of Scotland. The request was therefore granted, and a few days after land was purchased on St. Peter Street, the congregation declared itself to be in connection with the Associate Synod or Burgher Church of Scotland.[15]

The above resolution was presented to a meeting of the Scottish Synod, held in Glasgow in 1806, along with a letter from the elders and managers of the Montreal congregation containing a similar request. Instead of reaching a firm decision, the Synod appointed a committee to correspond with the Montreal congregation, and the matter was dropped. Not even a correspondence was continued.[16]

It is hardly surprising that the resolution produced no results. The attempt of the St. Gabriel Street Church to place itself under the care of the Presbytery of Albany had been, to all intents and purposes, a failure. How much more difficult to tie oneself to a church across an ocean! Although it conformed to Church of Scotland usage, the St. Gabriel Street Church seems to

have made no attempt to become formally attached to the Church of Scotland. Dr. Neil Smith makes the assertion that "Presbyterian polity did not lend itself to close supervision over the affairs of the colonial churches."[17] This statement concerned a later period in Canadian history, but is relevant to the earlier situation. So too, is the statement of the Church of Scotland in 1844, "The Church of Scotland has never claimed any authority, nor exercised any control over your Synod: neither has she ever possessed, nor desired to possess the right of any such interference."[18] The same seems to have been true of the Secession Church to which the St. Peter Street Church sought admission.

The building of the St. Gabriel Street Church would have been, at the least, delayed, without the active support of the fur traders. The St. Peter Street Church would probably not have been built without the help of its American members. These two major groups in the Presbyterian Churches were at opposite poles in the measure of esteem which Montreal granted them. The fur traders of theSt. Gabriel Street congregation were among the most highly respected elements of the community; frequently, on the other hand, the Americans of the St. Peter Street congregation were discredited, "as if they were

disloyal and dangerous elements in society."[19] Evidence of the distrust with which the new Presbyterian congregation was regarded is seen in the government's refusal to grant a register to its minister although the St. Gabriel Street Church had possessed one for a number of years.

In his address at the placing of the cornerstone of the St. Peter Street Church, in October, 1805, Mr. Easton attempted to squash, once and for all, any suspicion of disloyalty which might surround his congregation. After maintaining that the doctrines taught in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Rules of Presbyterian Church Government, contained the whole of his private and public faith, he speaks of his congregation:

> ...for I am confident that, during my own ministry in it, impiety and vice, disloyalty and turbulence will be equally reprobated. And I wish to Heaven that a stone of it had never been laid, if it is ever to be the instrument of diffusing poison through the veins of religious and civil society. But I fear no such consequence; because the congregation has resolved, and measures are already taken, to place it perpetually under the care of a regular body in Scotland, whose evangelical and loyal character is well known to the Christian World... Let us always strive to merit the approbation of our fellow citizens, and of the officers of government, by a peaceable, friendly and virtuous behavior; joining with all good men in whatever may promote the common welfare; and marking with the utmost detestation, everything of an opposite tendency...[20]

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars were responsible for the rise of patriotism in Canada and suspicion of aliens. It was on the 15th of October, 1805, less than a week before the decisive British victory off Trafalgar which gave the British undisputed command of the seas, that the corner stone of the St. Peter Street Church was laid. The suspicion with which the American element in Montreal was held, intensified as relations between Great Britain and the United States worsened. At the outbreak of war in 1812, Governor Prevost ordered Americans to sign an oath of allegiance within two weeks or leave the province of Lower Canada.[21] The Americans in Montreal, reluctant to make the decision, wavered. Some signed the oath, some left the province, and others did neither. The last group remained unmolested.[22] Some Americans who returned to the United States, remained for the duration of the war and resumed their old life in Canada after its termination.

The little congregation on St. Peter Street remained loyal. George Platt, an American hardware merchant and a member of the St. Peter Street congregation raised and commanded a troop of cavalry during the war.[23] One of the members who returned to the United States, William Lyman, came back to Montreal in 1819 and became a

successful Canadian merchant.[24] Others, like Moses Northropp, remained in the United States after leaving Montreal at the outbreak of war.[25]

Nahum Mower, the Massachussets born editor of Montreal's first all English newspaper, The Canadian Courant, who came to Montreal in 1807, was a member of the St. Peter Street congregation. Like a number of other members of the St. Peter Street Church, he maintained a pew in the St. Gabriel Street Church as well. However, at the outbreak of war in 1812, he gave up his pew in the St. Gabriel Street Church,[26] and confined his church interests to the St.Peter Street Church.

Certain areas of rivalry and distrust separated British and American born Montrealers after the war. British Montrealers were proud of their tradition of loyalty, and were favoured by the government, which had, in 1815, at last, formulated a policy regarding immigration, a policy which was to encourage immigrants from Great Britain and to discourage immigrants from the United States.[27] On the other hand, British residents could hardly fail to notice the dwindling wealth produced by the fur trade, on which the proud position of the city had rested a few years earlier. They must have observed that in the fields of agriculture and transportation as well as

banking facilities and wealth in general, despite periodic depressions, the brash young republic to the south was outstripping them.

We shall now consider the American-born Presbyterians in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and attempt to discover their distinctive characteristics through the study of one representative family of the day and a leading American company in Montreal with its business and personal connections. We shall attempt to assess the economic and social position of Americans in Montreal and also their evaluation of British Montrealers.

The Peck family came to Canada from Vermont[28] probably early in the nineteenth century. Cornelius Peck was a carpenter,[29] who kept an inn in Montreal and was married to an American, Maria Hall.[30] His brother, Thomas, was interested in livery stables.[31] He bought a farm on the Beach Ridge in the County of Argenteuil which consisted of timbered land as well as about one hundred and twenty acres of cleared land.[32] Here he raised prize winning cattle,[33] and occasionally judged horses for the competitions sponsored by the Montreal Agricultural Society.[34]

Other Americans owned land on Beach Ridge, among

whom were Benjamin Throop, Dr. Green, Jonathan Hagar[35] and Nahum Hall.[36] Nahum Hall, who was probably Maria Peck's brother, had, as a partner in the baking business in Montreal, John D. Hagar.[37] Benjamin Hagar had been in the shoe trade in Montreal,[38] but had been succeeded in the business by his brother Jonathan.[39] Jonathan had taken, as his associate, another member of the family, Abner,[40] and to add to the confused interrelationships, Abner was married to a Peck.[41]

Thomas Peck was also interested in stagecoach lines, and was the owner of a line between Montreal and St. Andrews.[42] In 1819, he gave up his farm to return to Montreal and open a livery stable on McGill Street.[43] In a disastrous fire in 1820, the stable was burned to the ground, and eleven of his horses lost.[44] However, by 1822, he seems to have become a part owner of a line of stagecoaches running between Montreal and Albany.[45]

The Peck family illustrates the manner in which personal ties ran through business connections among Americans in Montreal in the early days of the nineteenth century. It also illustrates the ability of the American to save enough money to enable him to invest in real estate, or some larger business venture.

Horatio Gates and Company, was a strong company

in Montreal controlled by Americans, and possessed many of the same characteristics as the Peck family. In 1805, three Americans, Abel Bellows, Benjamin Forbes and Horatio Gates dealt in leather goods in Montreal. The business was continued by Bellows and Gates after Benjamin Forbes dropped out of the partnership, a year later.[46] In 1810, a connection was formed by the company with Messrs. Bellows, Cordis, and Jones, of Boston, and the Canadian company became known as Bellows, Gates, and Company.[47] Family ties between members of the Boston company and the Canadian company existed.[48] Although the commercial connection was dissolved during the war, Horatio Gates and Co. was trading in Montreal some time before 1822. The partners in the company were the Americans, Horatio Gates, Nathaniel Jones and Charles Bancroft.[49]

Mary Bancroft was married to William Lyman and through her husband was connected to a number of other American families in Montreal.[50] Samuel Hedge, a prominent hardware merchant, was married to Lydia Lyman.[51] Roswell Corse was married to Susannah Lyman[52] and Roswell and Henry Corse owned a linseed oil factory.[53] George Wadsworth, a druggist, was married to Laura Lyman.[54] Romeo Wadsworth was married to Eunice Nichols,[55] who was, in all probability, the sister of Hiram Nichols,[56] a

prominent American merchant. The firm of Wadsworth and Lyman was importing drugs as early as 1804,[57] and in 1814, The Montreal Gazette contained advertisements for the firm of Wadsworth and Nichols.[58] In 1819, W. F. Gates and Co. of Upper Canada was selling land through its agent in Montreal, H. Nichols.[59]

From this intricate family connection, which could be developed further, it is possible to see how business and family relationships overlapped. The American capital brought in by Horatio Gates and Co. probably found its way into other Montreal businesses which were owned by Americans.

An embargo was laid on American commerce within a year of the opening of the St. Peter Street Church.[60] Its effect was to bring American commerce to a halt and to increase immigration into Lower Canada. A new type of American immigrant began to arrive, often with capital to invest and the backing of an American company. John Lambert, writing in 1808, states, "Several Americans have, of late years, settled in Montreal and carry on a lucrative trade throughout the country. Since the embargo, two or three merchants from Boston have opened large stores of British merchandise...". Lambert then describes

his acquaintance with Mr. Storrow, "...A gentleman of respectable family and connexions in Boston where he has a partner who conducts his concerns during his residence in Canada. On his return to Canada in the spring of 1808, he had brought his wife and family with him and intended to take up his abode in the province for some time...".[61] In 1811, a Montreal resident, Mr. Holmes was described as, "A Boston merchant who had a branch in Montreal."[62] It will be remembered that Bellows, Gates and Co. had established its connection with Boston in 1810.[63]

Business men from Albany as well came to Montreal. In April of 1810, we read that "Jeremiah Waterman and Austin Warner, both late of the City of Albany, wish to inform the public that they have entered into co-partnership under the firm of Jeremiah Waterman and Co. and are now opening at Mr. Mittleberger's new building, no. 123 St. Paul Street...".[64] How close a connection they maintained with Albany, we do not know. In 1810, another Albany firm, Caldwell, Fraser and Co. was selling tobacco, snuff, and chocolate, in Montreal.[65]

An indication of the increasing importance of Americans in Montreal's financial circles is seen in the creation of the Bank of Montreal. Nine merchants signed articles of association in June, 1817, of whom Horatio Gates

was the only American.[66] However, in August, when directors were appointed, three more Americans were added, Hiram Nichols, George Platt, and Zabdiel Thayer.[67]

The newer American element, although smaller in number than earlier immigrants, probably because of their closeknit relationships, and their access to American money, seem to have evoked a feeling of unease and resentment in Montreal. For one thing, it was feared that they might become too powerful. In a letter to The Montreal Gazette in 1811, a writer complains, "The Americans lately settled in Montreal not content with aspiring at monopoly in the higher grades of speculation are grasping at exclusive rights in minor occupations...".[68]

Irritation and fear took varied forms extending from ridicule to bitter calumny. When an itinerant American Methodist preacher made the unfortunate statement that "H--- was a bottomless pit, paved with the bones of the D-----," British Montrealers laughed at the blunder.[69] When spurious indigo from Vermont appeared in Canada, The Montreal Gazette captioned the article, "Yankee Trick".[70] By 1811, letters to the editor of The Montreal Gazette were bitter. 'Mercator', in June, 1811, described Americans as "ostentatious without dignity, ambitious without moderation, presumptuous without merit." He goes on to say,

"They insultingly deride, wantonly abuse and confidently bear down every barrier to their lawless pursuits."[71] 'Philo-Mercator' comments, "These people proposed a bank in this place, not for public benefit but deep designed selfish interest."[72]

The American answer to British criticism, is expressed by 'A Yankee', writing in The Canadian Courant. We shall quote from this letter at some length:

> The Government has received a great accession of force from the influx of American population; for there cannot, I believe, be a single instance produced of a reputable American, who has not uniformly supported its measures by his influence and his suffrages. The suggestions of Mercator with regard to their motives to loyalty and their future conduct, deserves only contemptuous silence. Those who know the Americans settled in this city, know them to be attached to the British Government from more than selfish views;- from a knowledge of its liberal and just policy, and from a grateful sentiment of its protecting power...
>
> But this 'horde of strangers' has done more than add to your prosperity, to the stability of your Government, and to the power of your population. Many of them sprung from respectable families who can trace back their honors in the heraldry of England, before the Royal bearings exhibited the Scottish thistle, have introduced with them those habits of industry, of order, of enterprize, and of morality, which are an honor to any people, and which exalted the states of America from a wilderness to a proud name among the nations of the earth. The Americans have brought with them not only virtues but capital; and have thereby given an astonishing momentum to the growing wealth of this country. The time has passed when every American was regarded as a vagabond. At least it should seem so, for although it is still considered a disgrace among the polite

> fair of the City to dance in public with a Yankee, yet are these strangers called to serve on your juries, and as assessors; and at your public festivals and amusements they are at least admitted to pay a portion of the expense and it is a fact that the Americans in the Eastern part of the province hold almost exclusively every civil and military office. And in this city, Merchants, Mechanicks, or whatever other possession [sic] they exercise, it is found they enjoy the public patronage in an extraordinary degree, not withstanding the unconcealed machinations of their competitors to injure and degrade them. Whence does this result, but from their distinguished fairness, honor and punctuality?
>
> How would the people of the United States, now confessedly second only to Great Britain in the scale of civilization and improvement, how would they smile to be considered objects of pity or disdain by their neighbours in Canada!...[73]

In the above quotation, an American Montrealer reveals his evaluation of the position Americans held in Montreal society and in it, the Scottish element is dealt a very gentle snub. However, apparently the New Englander was almost as suspicious of the Highland Scot, as was the British resident of the American. The New England editor of The Canadian Courant was criticized in an editorial appearing in The Montreal Herald on the 26th of December,[74] 1818, for finding fault with the Highland Society. Mower's rebuttal was surprisingly caustic. In it, he likened the Highlanders, only a half century before, to lawless banditti, dreaded by their own countrymen. "Is it these ferocious men, their habit, dress and propensities that the enlightened descendants of Scotchmen in these provinces

are called upon to celebrate annually the remembrance of? What emblems! What pictures! And on that memorable day too, which must be signalled in the annals of posterity as the identical period when civilization at Waterloo achieved its final victory, over very similar barbarous and military principles." In Mower's concluding remarks he asserts, "that the primary object of all British people, including Scotchmen, should be the study of the ENGLISH LANGUAGE."[75]

In the preceding discussion, we have pointed out areas of friction between American and British Montrealers. In reality, the degree of harmony which prevailed, was remarkable. In the St. Peter Street congregation, American and Scottish members worked peaceably together for almost twenty years. It will be remembered that a war was fought between Great Britain and the United States during that time. When a division finally came about, it was not based entirely on national lines. Some eight or ten American families remained with the Scottish congregation[76] and people of varied origin joined the American Presbyterian Church.[77]

American and British Montrealers usually rose above national prejudices. We shall consider two such occasions. The first concerned an American custom, adopted

in Canada, but which was discarded by American Montrealers when it became burdensome. The second concerned the Montreal offspring of an American society, which fulfilled an urgent need in Montreal and was liberally supported by its British residents.

In 1807, in describing a funeral in New York, John Lambert, remarked "Funerals at New York as well as in almost every other part of the United States are attended by a numerous assemblage of the friends and acquaintances of the deceased who are invited by advertisement in the newspaper, to attend their departed friend to the grave. On such occasions I have seen upward of one hundred people and the larger the number, the more the deceased is supposed to be respected and valued. I cannot help thinking however, that these numerous meetings savour somewhat of ostentation...".[78] Almost ten years later, John Duncan observed another unusual funeral custom in New York. "The clergyman, the physician and a few of the more intimate friends receive each a large linen scarf which is worn like a military belt sloping across the body, and those who are thus marked off, officiate as pall bearers. These scarves are in all cases presented to those who wear them; they contain in general as much linen as will make a shirt... The number of scarves marks in some measure, the respectability of the family, and a misplaced desire of

parade often leads into considerable expense those who are ill able to afford it...".[79]

Montreal followed similar customs. An attempt was made however to do away with some of the inconveniences and expense involved. The Rev. Mr. Esson, assistant minister of the St. Gabriel Street Church probably initiated the move towards reform shortly after his arrival in Montreal. As its moderator he was present at the meeting of session which passed the two following resolutions:

> First, the session taking into consideration the great inconvenience and loss of time occasioned to the Clergymen of This Church by the present mode of conducting funerals; have unanimously resolved and do hereby appoint that in future the Clergymen of this city shall not walk in procession to the burial ground, as has been the general practise heretofore, but shall merely be required to meet the corpse at the place of internment and there deliver the usual exhortation.
> Second, The Session farther considering the great inconvenience and waste of time which the present mode of conducting funerals occasion to all who attend them, and also the heavy expenses which are hereby unnecessarily imposed on the Relations of the deceased, and which in particular press very severly on the lower orders, who, it is well known, rather than omit on such occasions any of the customary forms and marks of respect will incur expenses which they are ill able to bear; Do therefore most earnestly recommend it to the members of this Congregation to set aside a practice so inconvenient and burdensome and to conform to that simplicity which on such occasions is observed in our Parent Country and which certainly is most befitting the funeral solemnity.[80]

Despite the American origin of the practice, Mr. Mower, the New England editor of The Canadian Courant and the congregation on St. Peter Street supported the reform. The burial by Mr. Easton of Mary Broadhead, the wife of James Fleming was carried out in a simpler manner. An account, written for The Canadian Courant reads in part,

> What particularly struck my attention was the plainness with which the funeral was conducted, her afflicted husband having been persuaded to yield to a regulation lately proposed that of disusing scarves, as not only an unnecessary custom but one highly pernicious to the community on account of an emulation in families which cannot afford the expence. It is hoped the example of this respectable merchant will be universally followed and that our Clergymen whose time is precious will be understood to proceed directly to the place of internment unless when they are called to perform prayer at the house of the deceased.[81]

The willingness of the Americans in Montreal to discard a long established burial custom was matched by the readiness of British women to work with American in bringing relief to the distressed. We shall now examine the manner in which this took place.

The most effective and permanent organization formed in the latter part of the second decade of the nineteenth century, to deal with the pressing problems of

poverty, which accompanied the settlers arriving from Britain, was the Female Benevolent Society. Formed in 1816, it was made up exclusively of women, and its main concern lay with indigent women and children.[82]

The Society was apparently modelled after the Ladies Society of New York, which was also made up exclusively of women, and primarily interested in distressed women and children.[83] The Ladies Society was managed by a Board of Directors consisting of a first and second directress, a secretary, a treasurer and at least six but not more than twelve managers. The Female Benevolent Society in Montreal also elected a Board of Directors, with a directress, a secretary, a treasurer, and twelve managers. Like the Ladies Society of New York, stress was laid on visiting the poor in order to ascertain their needs.

American women in Montreal probably initiated the idea of a benevolent society of women. The first intimation that such a society was contemplated came from the American editor of The Canadian Courant.[84] The first directress was of American loyalist stock.[85] The first semi-annual meeting was held at "The Rev. Mr. Easton's Meeting House",[86] a term reminiscent of New England, and the annual meeting in the following February, at the home

of George Platt, a prominent American hardware merchant.[87]

However, British women in Montreal supported the new society. Mrs. Aird, the first treasurer, was a member of a Scottish family who attended the St. Gabriel Street Church.[88] Apparently, the success achieved by the organization, attracted all classes of women to its ranks. In 1819, the annual meeting was held in the St. Gabriel Street Church, and as The Montreal Gazette reports it, "Several Ladies of the first respectability were present who had not before honoured the meetings of the Society."[89] In 1821, the Protestant Parish Church collected over £ 49 for its work, the St. Gabriel Street Church, over £ 57 and the St. Peter Street Church over £ 30.[90] In addition, the Methodist Chapel contributed over £ 15.[91]

In this chapter we have seen that Americans in Montreal were suspected to being disloyal to Great Britain during the early part of the nineteenth century. The suspicion which surrounded them was accentuated when, after the imposition of the embargo in the United States, merchants with American capital to invest, played a leading role in Montreal's commercial life. The close family ties within the American community tended to separate them from their British born compatriots even more. However,

the interest of Americans, like the British, was in the advancement of Montreal, socially and commercially, and therefore they had much in common.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

[1]The early records relating to the St. Peter Street Church, which should be found in the archives of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in Montreal, do not seem to be available. Consequently, we do not have as much information about the St. Peter Street congregation as one would wish.

[2]Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church 1733-1900 (2 vols. Edinburgh: David M. Small, 1904), p.309.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal. (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), p.180.

[5]Alexander Mathieson, "History of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal", 1832 ed. James Croil, Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, D.D. (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870), p.111.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]The Title Deeds of the St. Peter Street property are in the archives of the Presbyterian Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in Montreal.

[9]Croil, p.112.

[10]Campbell, p.176.

[11]Croil, p.114.

[12]Campbell, p.180.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Croil, p.112.

[16]Ibid.

[17]N. G. Smith, "The Presbyterian Tradition in Canada," The Churches and the Canadian Experience, ed. John Webster Grant, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), p.39.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Campbell, p.178.

[20]Ibid., p.177.

[21]Marcus Lee Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p.92.

[22]Ibid.

[23]The Montreal Gazette, September 16, 1818.

[24]Register St. Gabriel, April 30, 1820.

[25]Campbell, p.258.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Hansen, p.97.

[28]Register St. Gabriel, November 28, 1819.

[29]Ibid., December 19, 1804.

[30]Ibid., January 15, 1815.

[31]Ibid., March 14, 1814.

[32]The Canadian Courant, December 11, 1819.

[33]The Montreal Gazette, October 6, 1818.

[34]The Montreal Gazette, August 4, 1819.

[35]The Montreal Gazette, April 30, 1814.

[36]The Canadian Courant, April 17, 1819.

[37]The Canadian Courant, October 7, 1815.

[38]Benjamin Hagar died of yellow fever in South America on the 28th of January, 1821 at the age of forty six. The Canadian Courant, March 28, 1821.

[39]The Montreal Gazette, April 14, 1804.

[40]The Canadian Courant, February 10, 1812.

[41]Register St. Gabriel, November 28, 1819.

[42]The Canadian Courant, July 10, 1819.

[43]Ibid., February 10, 1819.

[44]The Montreal Gazette, September 6, 1820.

[45]The Canadian Courant, February 10, 1819.

[46]The Montreal Gazette, March 22, 1806.

[47]The Canadian Courant, May 21, 1810.

[48]Nathaniel Jones was the nephew of Horatio Gates. Campbell, p.252.

[49]The Montreal Gazette, July 27, 1822.

[50]Register St. Gabriel, April 30, 1820.

[51]Ibid., November 30, 1811.

[52]The Canadian Courant, April 5, 1820.

[53]Ibid., January 7, 1815.

[54]Register St. Gabriel, October 23, 1810.

[55]Ibid., August 28, 1809.

[56]Hiram Nichols witnessed the baptism of Eunice Nichols Wadsworth's children in 1809.

[57]The Montreal Gazette, June 2, 1804.

[58]The Canadian Courant, November 5, 1814.

[59]Ibid., January 16, 1819.

[60]Jefferson's embargo was placed on the 22nd of December, 1807.

[61]John Lambert, Travels through Canada and the United States of America in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808 (2d. ed. rev. London: C. Craddock and W. Jay, 1814), Vol. II, p.241.

[62]Franklin Graham, Histrionic Montreal (2d. ed. Montreal: John Lovell & Sons, 1909), p.31.

[63]The Canadian Courant, May 21, 1810.

[64]Ibid., April 23, 1810.

[65]Ibid., June 18, 1810.

[66]The Centenary of the Bank of Montreal 1817-1917 (Montreal: 1917), p.8.

[67]Ibid.

[68]The Montreal Gazette, April 29, 1811.

[69]Ibid., October 31, 1808.

[70]Ibid., August 11, 1808.

[71]Ibid., June 3, 1811.

[72]Ibid., June 17, 1811.

[73]The Canadian Courant, November 12, 1810. The underlining was not in the original text.

[74]The Montreal Herald, December 26, 1818.

[75]The Canadian Courant, January 2, 1819.

[76]Croil, p.113.

[77]David Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church in Montreal 1822-1866", (Unpublished Master's dissertation, McGill University, 1957), p.18.

[78]Lambert, Vol. II, pp.194-5.

[79]John M. Duncan, Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819 (2 vols. Glasgow: University Press, 1823), Vol. II, p.312.

[80]Session St. Gabriel, August 22, 1819.

[81]The Canadian Courant, February 12, 1821.

[82]The Montreal Gazette, February 26, 1816.

[83]Lambert, Vol. II, pp.177-178.

[84]The Canadian Courant, January 27, 1816.

[85]Mrs. Benaiah Gibb née Eleanor Pastorius, was the daughter of Abraham Pastorius, a loyalist officer, who had come to Montreal from Pennsylvania after the American Revolution.

[86]The Montreal Gazette, August 26, 1816.

[87]Ibid., January 13, 1817.

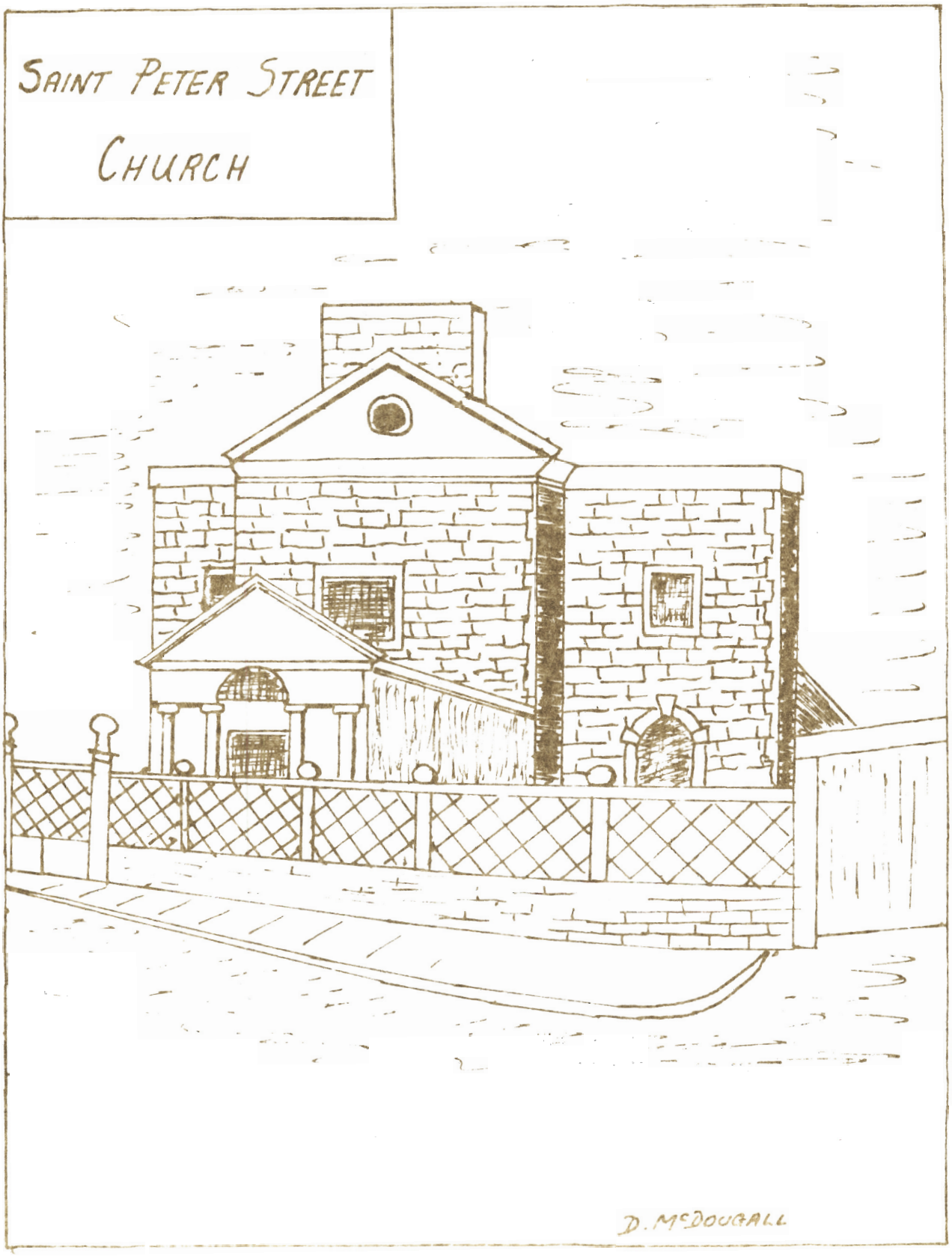
[88]Campbell, p.143.

[89]The Montreal Gazette, February 17, 1819.

[90]Ibid., January 10, 1821.

[91]Ibid., January 31, 1821.

SAINT PETER STREET CHURCH



D. McDOUGALL

CHAPTER VI

THE AMERICAN ELEMENT IN THE ST. PETER STREET CONGREGATION PART II

Before we consider the St. Peter Street Church, its ministers, and the position of Americans within the Presbyterian community, we shall look at two groups of people who had come from the United States, who lived in a certain degree of isolation in Montreal, and yet retained slender ties with its Presbyterian Church. We shall also consider Presbyterian burial practices in early nineteenth century Montreal because they differed considerably from normal American, or for that matter, British, burial habits.

Our information concerning the two groups of isolated Americans comes almost exclusively from the records of the St. Gabriel Street Church although it is probable that, when they attended a church, it was the church on St. Peter Street. Mr. Easton did not obtain a legal register until 1815, and between 1818 and 1820, he was in Great Britain and his register, during that time, remained unused.[1] Consequently, members of the St. Peter Street congregation were forced to call on Mr. Somerville of the St. Gabriel Street congregation to perform services

for them during most of the period with which we are concerned. Even after Mr. Easton obtained a register in 1815, it is possible that some members of his church continued to go to Mr. Somerville to have marriage or baptismal services performed because they had become accustomed to doing so.

The first of these isolated groups which we shall consider is the tiny negro community. We have already dealt briefly with its connection with the Presbyterian Church before 1803. Mr. Somerville distinguished negroes from whites in his register but unfortunately neither Mr. Esson, his successor, who arrived from Scotland to be his assistant in 1817, nor Mr. Easton of the St. Peter Street Church, did so. On examining Mr. Somerville's register we find that a large majority of the negroes were labourers although a few were farmers. The latter group consisted of Robert Boston,[2] his brother-in-law, Henry Thomson, and John Dolphin.[3] These negro farmers probably lived close to one another near St. Michel. Mr. Somerville buried the wife of a negro raftsman from Upper Canada,[4] but there is no indication that any of Montreal's negroes were raftsmen. According to the records, the most long lived Presbyterian Montrealer of the period was a negress, Mary Young, said

to have died at the age of one hundred and six.[5]

Actors drawn from across the border constituted the second unintegrated group in early Montreal. In 1804, Mr. Ormsby arrived in the city from Albany and, with the assistance of local theatre lovers, built stage properties in the upper part of a large and long stone warehouse beside the post office on St. Sulpice Street.[6] This was to be Montreal's first theatre. Although his original intention had been to form a "Company of Comedians" in Canada to play alternately in Quebec and Montreal,[7] Mr. Ormsby returned to the United States after the first unprofitable season.

Greater success was obtained by Mr. Prigmore and his company who arrived in 1807, and gave their first performance in February, 1808.[8] John Lambert ascribes the readiness of good American actors to come to Montreal at this time to the imposition of the embargo in the United States.[9] In 1809, The Montreal Gazette writes, "We are happy to find the theatrical establishment assuming a degree of regularity and respectability which has not been known here before." The Montreal Gazette continues, "The efforts of the Performers, we are happy to state, will not go unrewarded".[10] In fact, the theatre was never far from failure and Lambert's judgment of 1807 was more astute.

"I much doubt," he remarked, "Whether the inhabitants are inclined to spend money enough in dramatic spectacles to support a company for any length of time."[11]

In 1810, the Presbyterian Church first came into contact with the performers. In February, Mr. Somerville baptized an actor, John Ripley Jones, in the presence of John Bethune, the first minister of the Presbyterian congregation.[12] Later in the year, he baptized the daughter of Thomas Young[13] and the daughter of John D. Turnbull.[14]

John D. Turnbull was one of a troupe of players who came from the United States to Montreal in 1809.[15] In addition to acting, he wrote a few plays which were produced in Montreal,[16] he sang popular songs in English and French,[17] he created new costumes,[18] and he designed and painted scenery.[19] As a side line, he taught navigation, "in all its branches and according to the most approved methods",[20] at his lodgings in Notre Dame Street. Indeed, he was said to have been a sea captain before he became an actor and to have "conducted many a well rigged and richly frought ship to different parts of the world."[21] He also attempted to interest Montrealers in buying an elegantly framed copper plate engraving of Sir James H. Craig.[22]

Turnbull was left with a small son and a daughter[23]

after the death of his wife and child in 1814.[24] Mr. Somerville performed the funeral services. When a new theatre was built on College Street in 1818, with a seating capacity of six or seven hundred persons,[25] Turnbull is said to have invested capital in it, and to have become its manager.[26]

Within a year, debts mounted and criticism grew. In December, a writer to The Canadian Courant complained, "The various and decorous portion of the audience at the Theatre on Friday evening last, were scandalized by the appearance of characters unfit for the society of those among whom chastity bears the name of virtue...".[27] A few days later, The Canadian Courant remarked, "...Mr. Turnbull's scanty fall of cut paper was a total violation of the 'cunning of the scene' and seemed rather bits of plaster shaken from the ceiling and would not pass for a 'snowstorm' in the West Indies, much less in Canada at this season...".[28] By February, actors were unpaid and the theatre was put up for rent.[29] Turnbull's unhappy connection with the theatre was abruptly terminated in May when one of Montreal's periodic, devastating, fires destroyed a portion of the Recollet suburb and with it, Montreal's theatre.[30]

John Turnbull was unique among actors in his ability to become part of Montreal's economic and social

life. He remained in Montreal and opened what was probably one of the earliest employment agencies in the city which supplied maids, grooms, butlers, valets, etc., to his patrons.[31] He must have attended one of the Presbyterian churches and he was an active mason, belonged to union lodge no. 8, and was its secretary in 1821.[32]

Most of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States had a burial ground within the church yard. This was not the case in Montreal. There had been a small Protestant burial plot within the city walls after 1763, but in 1799, the Protestant community, Anglican and Presbyterian, decided to secure land on Dorchester Street in the St. Lawrence suburb to be used as a Protestant burial ground. Five trustees were appointed to regulate its operation, two of whom represented Presbyterian Montrealers. Although regulations required that, when a vacancy occurred, the remaining members should elect a successor,[33] in practice the Presbyterian Church appointed a successor when one of its trustees was unable to continue his duties.[34]

Montreal was expanding and, in 1811, decided to expropriate the old Protestant burial ground situated within the city walls. Relatives and friends of the dead

were ordered to remove the bodies to the Dorchester Street grounds.[35] A year later, the citizens were notified that unless the bodies were removed in fourteen days the police would do so.[36]

Four years later, an additional Protestant burial ground was proposed, and subscriptions solicited from Presbyterians.[37] Henceforth, the burials of members of the St. Peter Street congregation, American and Scottish, were almost equally divided between the new burial ground which was situated in the Quebec suburb on Papineau Avenue and what was now called the old burial ground on Dorchester Street.[38]

Anglicans considered it necessary to consecrate the ground in which their dead were to be buried. Presbyterians did not. Dr. Harkness, an eloquent Presbyterian minister of the city of Quebec, is said to have remarked, "The Anglicans may consecrate their ground when they please. Presbyterians will sleep as sound in consecrated as in unconsecrated ground."[39] This fact was unimportant to most Presbyterian communities in the United States where its members lived close to the church, and burial was in the church yard. However, the early Presbyterian churches in Montreal possessed no church graveyards, and their congregations were scattered over a wide area. The fact that Presbyterians might be buried

in unconsecrated ground was an important consideration and it became not too uncommon to have a burial performed in places other than the Protestant burial ground. We read that, on the thirteenth of October 1816, Annie McAlane, the wife of a settler in Cote St. Paul was buried on the farm of Mrs. McKercher near the grave of the late Donald McKercher.[40] Donald McKercher was a Presbyterian who had first supported the St. Gabriel Street Church and later the St. Peter Street Church. He had moved to a farm in Lower Lachine,[41] which was probably bought by Alexander Somerville in 1819.[42] At any rate, burials after 1819, in Lachine, were on Somerville's farm, and included, among others, that of an innkeeper, a store porter of the naval department, a farmer and a farmer's wife.[43] When a burial in 1822 was said to have been made in the Protestant burial ground of Lower Lachine,[44] it no doubt referred to the same area on Somerville's farm which had now become recognized as a Presbyterian burial ground.

Not all burials in Lachine were on Somerville's farm however. In 1821, Alexander McDougall, a partner of the North West Company who had retired to Lachine, was buried on his own estate.[45] When John Grant, a well-known and highly esteemed resident of Lachine was buried in 1817, his body was carried "not only from Lachine to this

City, but even to the grave not allowing the hearse in attendance to be used."[46]

The St. Peter Street Church was completed in the early spring of 1807, about a year and a half after the laying of its cornerstone. It was situated in the western section of the city within sight of the Recollet Chapel where the first congregation of Presbyterians had worshipped. The church was ten feet longer and three feet wider than the St. Gabriel Street Church and was able to accommodate over a hundred more people. It cost £ 1500 which was £ 650 more than the cost of the original church on St. Gabriel Street.[47] Made of stone, the St. Peter Street Church was well constructed but plain.[48]

A glance at the sketch of the St. Peter Street Church will reveal that it boasted a portico in the Grecian style. Enthusiasm for Greek architectural forms mounted steadily in America after the revolution. Isaac Weld, travelling through the United States late in the eighteenth century described a Presbyterian Church on the High Street in Philadelphia as, "ornamented with a handsome portico in front, supported by six pillars in the Corinthian order."[49] The unprecedented vitality of the revival is seen in the fact that Greek architecture moved

westward with the frontier. "Greek temples were to rise often side by side with the log cabins of the first settlers."[50] A romantic splendour surrounded the movement westward and the Greek revival. Both were searching for perfection, the settler for a physical Utopia, and the builder for the perfection of form which he found in Greek architecture.

The American members of the St. Peter Street congregation were caught up in the romantic atmosphere of their day, and it is not surprising that the church which they helped to construct, should have a Grecian style porch. Because of it, the new church on St. Peter Street was unlike the simple Scottish parish church on St. Gabriel Street.

The Rev. Mr. Robert Easton was thirty years of age when he arrived in Montreal in 1804. The new minister of the Presbyterian church on St. Gabriel Street, Mr. James Somerville, who had arrived the previous year, was not more than a year younger. Like Mr. Somerville, Robert Easton had been born and educated in Scotland. He had graduated from the University of Edinburgh and had been licensed and ordained by the Associate Synod.[51] After ministering to a congregation in the north of England for a short time, he sailed with Dr. John Mason, minister of The Second Presbyterian Church in New York, for North America. He had come to Montreal on Dr. Mason's recommendation.[52]

Several children were born to Robert Easton and his wife, Mary Beattie, during their residence in Montreal, two of whom died in infancy or early childhood.[53] The St. Peter Street Church, like the St. Gabriel Street Church did not provide a manse, and the Eastons rented a house near the church on St. Peter Street.[54] Mr. Easton's yearly stipend, during the early years of his ministry, amounted to £ 125.[55] At the same time, Mr. Somerville was receiving £ 200, which included his chaplain's allowance.

Americans took a more active part in the St. Peter Street Church than had the American tradesmen and craftsmen who formed part of John Young's early congregation of Presbyterians on St. Gabriel Street. There had been no Americans on Young's session, and none on the temporality committee. On the other hand, in the St. Peter Street Church, Americans were both active and influential.

Many of the tradesmen among the earlier Americans, had become successful merchants, and the more recently arrived Americans were frequently wealthy American business men. Almost all of the Americans in Montreal seem to have supported the St. Peter Street Church. It was probably largely because of the increasing wealth of the American element in the congregation, that Mr. Easton's stipend was raised to £ 200 in 1816, and to

£ 250 two years later.[56] This was a large stipend, considerably larger than Mr. Somerville was receiving at that time from the St. Gabriel Street Church. In addition to providing financial support for the church, and to attending Sunday worship services, Americans assisted the church in a variety of ways.

Nahum Mower, the editor of The Canadian Courant, was a staunch supporter of the church. When the paving in St. Peter Street became defective in October of 1819, and created impassable puddles of water, he wrote an editorial in which he deplored the condition of the street and the fact that the numerous and respectable members of the St. Peter Street Church were being, "exposed to the dangerous (often fatal) consequence of sitting during the service with damp or wet feet."[57] The street, he felt, must be repaired.

The Americans supported the broader work of the Christian church in Montreal. So, too, did their minister. In 1816, Mr. Easton was appointed the agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society in Montreal[58] and in 1818, when an auxiliary was formed, he became its first secretary.[59] An American member of the St. Peter Street congregation, Charles Bancroft, became its first treasurer.[60] Other active supporters of the work of the society were,

Messrs. Gates, Mower, Savage, Rea, Taite, W. Hedge, and S. Hedge, all of whom were American members of the St. Peter Street Church.[61]

One of Montreal's first Sunday Schools was begun in the home of an American member of the St. Peter Street Church. The daughter of Samuel Hedge opened the school in 1817 in her home on the corner of St. Peter Street and Fortification Lane.[62] It increased in size and within a few months, a school room and three more instructors had become necessary. The following season, the school was transferred to the St. Peter Street Church and by 1819, the number of students exceeded sixty.[63] The Sunday School in St. Peter Street was begun a number of years before a similar school was opened by the St. Gabriel Street Church. Children of members of the St. Gabriel Street Church joined the St. Peter Street Sunday School and some of these children maintained their connection with the St. Peter Street Church when they became adults. Although by no means the only reason, this may be one cause for the increase in the size of the St. Peter Street congregation at the expense of the St. Gabriel Street Church.

For a period of over two years, between September, 1818, and November, 1820, Mr. Easton was absent from his church on a trip to Great Britain.[64] He hoped to improve

his health, but, more important, to persuade young ministers to come to Canada.[65] During his absence, services in the St. Peter Street Church were continued in a desultory manner. When John Duncan visited Montreal in 1819, he intended to visit the Burgher Chapel,[St. Peter Street Church.] He writes, "On going to the chapel, however, I learned that there was to be no service that day, and that the regular minister had left the city in consequence of bad health."[66] However, in July of 1819, The Canadian Courant informed Mr. Easton's congregation, "...that there will be Public Worship in their Church tomorrow at the usual hours."[67] .The congregation apparently did not suffer from the interruption to its services because it continued to function normally on Mr. Easton's return.

Worship services in the St. Peter Street Church followed Scottish Presbyterian usage. There was no distinction between the form of worship in the Church of Scotland and that of the secession churches. Sunday services were held at eleven o'clock on Sunday morning and again at half past three in the afternoon.[68] An old Scottish Presbyterian tradition forbade the cooking of a meal between Sunday morning and Sunday afternoon worship services.[69] The Americans within the St. Peter Street

Church would be unfamiliar with the tradition, and disregard it, but, some of the older and more strict among the Scots might have maintained it. Although it was not considered essential, evening services were held, at least during the winter season, in both of the Presbyterian churches in Montreal.[70]

Outside speakers were often secured for the evening service and the collection was frequently used for a charitable undertaking. In February of 1815, the Rev. Mr. William Smart preached in the St. Peter Street Church at half past six in the evening in aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society.[71] In 1821, an Irish Presbyterian clergyman conducted a Sunday evening service in the St. Peter Street Church, for the benefit of the Irish immigrants who had recently come to the city.[72] More latitude was probably permitted in the conducting of the evening service than of the morning or afternoon services.

The Sunday offering in the Presbyterian Churches seems to have been placed in a plate, set inside the door, upon the arrival of the worshipper to the church. It was the duty of an elder to stand beside the plate until the conclusion of the first prayer.[73] The money collected in this manner, was occasionally used to pay the doorkeeper or precentor,[74] but was usually distributed by the elders

to relieve the poor within the congregation. Relief frequently consisted of a certain number of loaves of bread delivered weekly by a baker,[75] although occasionally blankets,[76] clothing[77] or cash[78] might be given.

The precentor, in the Presbyterian church, wore a black gown similar to that of the minister and sat at a desk below the pulpit from which point, he directed the congregational singing.[79] This may have been done by 'lining'. The precentor was said to 'line' a psalm when he sang a line, the congregation repeated it after him and the singing continued in this manner. Like the minister, Mr. Easton, the precentor was probably Scottish born, and certainly Scottish in tradition.

Singing was unaccompanied by a musical instrument. Before 1825, there was probably no choir and the congregation remained seated while they sang.[80] The psalter in use had been published in 1650, and the music to which it was sung, twelve common meter tunes, had been published some fifteen years later. The only addition was made over a hundred years later, in 1781, and it consisted of Scriptural paraphrases.[81] No hymns were used by the Church of Scotland although they may have been permitted in the St. Peter Street Church. Of this, we are uncertain.

The service differed from the ones to which most Americans in the congregation, who came from the

Presbyterian Church in the United States, were accustomed. In the United States, almost all of the ministers were American born and American educated. Except in cases where a majority of the congregation were Scottish or Scotch-Irish, there would be no precentor. Clerical gowns were used at the discretion of the congregation and there was no restriction placed on the use of hymns or a musical instrument.

Mr. Easton's eyesight was failing. Before his death in 1831, he was almost completely blind.[82] In 1822, he asked to be relieved of his charge and retired on an annuity. The Scottish majority within the congregation quickly took steps to find a replacement from among the ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland. No other minister was to be considered.[83] This reversed the earlier decision of the church to associate itself with the secession churches.

Why the Scottish members felt it expedient to obtain a minister from the Church of Scotland may be explained by the fact that an early attempt to establish a close relationship with the Associate Synod had failed and probably left a residue of disillusionment. Even more decisive would be the fact that, in the twenties, a struggle for state assistance was in progress between the

Anglicans who claimed to be the national church, and the Presbyterians who based similar claims on their own national character. Scottish Presbyterian churches in Canada were assuming an aggressive posture, largely because of the support of the governor-general Lord Dalhousie, who belonged to the Kirk.[84] When concessions were made, they would come first to a church with a Church of Scotland minister, only later to a congregation with a secession minister, and probably not at all to a Presbyterian Church with an American minister.

The choice for a successor fell to Mr. John Burns, A.M., who had been ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh and arrived in Montreal on the fourth of July, 1824. Mr. Easton formally resigned his charge, and retired on an annuity of £ 150.[85] The St. Peter Street Church assumed the name of St. Andrew's. This was the first time a Presbyterian church in Montreal had been given a specific name. In earlier days, they had been differentiated only by the name of the street on which they were situated. The St. Andrew's Church was a parent church of the present church of St. Andrew and St. Paul.

The new minister of the St. Peter Street Church would come from Scotland and have received his education in a Socttish university. He would be expected to maintain

Scottish traditions in the Canadian church. Americans in the congregation were accustomed to an American form of Presbyterian worship, and to a minister born and educated in the United States, and possessing an American point of view. The Americans within the St. Peter Street Church were no longer the artisans of the city but among the most wealthy and respected, of Montreal's business community. They were quite capable of building and supporting a church of their own and this they proceeded to do.

An American Presbyterian Society was formed, for the specific purpose of building a church, in December of 1822.[86] The services of a very able young American minister, The Rev. J. C. Christmas, were secured,[87] and soon the American Presbyterian Church was built. It became connected to the Presbyterian Church in the United States, called American ministers to its pulpit, and proved to be an active and influential factor in Protestant Montreal's church life.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI

[1]The Register of the St. Peter Street Church, Folio 73, notation.

[2]The Register of the St. Gabriel Street Church, June 6, 1813.

[3]John Thomas was a farmer on the "Petite Cote". Betsy Thomas was the wife of Robert Boston. John Dolphin and Robert Boston lived near St. Michel. Register St. Gabriel.

[4]Register St. Gabriel, July 26, 1816.

[5]Register St. Gabriel, June 23, 1813.

[6]Franklin Graham, Histrionic Montreal (2d. ed.; Montreal: John Lovell & Sons, 1909), p.17.

[7]The Montreal Gazette, November 12, 1804.

[8]Graham, p.17.

[9]John Lambert, Travels through Canada and the United States of America in the years 1806, 1807, & 1808 (2d. ed. rev.; London: C. Craddock and W. Jay, 1814), Vol. II, p.73.

[10]The Montreal Gazette, March 20, 1809.

[11]Lambert, Vol. I, pp.302-3.

[12]Register St. Gabriel, February 21, 1810.

[13]Ibid., November 2, 1810.

[14]Ibid., July 1, 1810.

[15]Graham, p.25.

[16]The Canadian Courant, May 8, 1809.

[17]Ibid., May 21, 1810.

[18]Ibid., May 8, 1809.

[19]Ibid., April 17, 1822.

[20]Ibid., June 18, 1810.

[21]Ibid., May 19, 1819.

[22]Ibid., December 10, 1810.

[23]Register St. Gabriel, February 8, 1814.

[24]In 1819, Mr. Turnbull and Miss Turnbull played in "The Honey Moon". In October, 1821, Master Turnbull assisted at an evening's entertainment. The Canadian Courant, May 8, 1819. Ibid., October 8, 1821.

[25]Thomas Doige, The Montreal Directory etc. (Montreal: James Lane, 1819), p.25.

[26]The Canadian Courant, March 13, 1819.

[27]Ibid., December 22, 1819.

[28]Ibid., December 25, 1819.

[29]Ibid., February 9, 1820.

[30]Ibid., May 6, 1820.

[31]Ibid., December 15, 1821.

[32]Ibid., December 15, 1821.

[33]Newton Bosworth (ed.), Hochelaga Depicta The Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal (Montreal: William Gregg, 1839), p.221.

[34]Committee St. Gabriel, October 9, 1801.

[35]The Montreal Gazette, June 17, 1811.

[36]Ibid., August 28, 1812.

[37]Committee St. Gabriel,April 16, 1816.

[38]Register St. Peter. See burials after 1816.

[39]James Croil, Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, D.D., minister of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870), p.107.

[40]Register St. Gabriel, October 13, 1816.

[41]Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel Street Montreal (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), p.57.

[42]The Canadian Courant, December 18, 1819.

[43]See Register St. Gabriel, 1821 and 1822.

[44]The burial of Matthew McKell, a farmer from Chateauguay, was performed by Mr. Easton and said to have taken place in the Protestant burial ground of Lower Lachine (Register St. Peter, Folio 105).

[45]Register St. Gabriel, November 25, 1821.

[46]The Montreal Gazette, August 27, 1817.

[47]Croil, p.113.

[48]Hochelaga Depicta, p.118.

[49]Isaac Weld, Jr., Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada during the years 1795, 1796 and 1797 (London: John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1800), Vol. I, p.9.

[50]T. F. Hamlin, The Pageant of America The American Spirit in Architecture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), p.125.

[51]The Canadian Courant, May 4, 1831.

[52]Campbell, p.180.

[53]Register St. Gabriel, August 29, 1814, and August 20, 1817. Register St. Peter, October 5, 1817.

[54]The Montreal Gazette, March 25, 1811.

[55]Croil, p.113.

[56]Ibid.

[57]The Canadian Courant, October 13, 1819.

[58]The Montreal Gazette, July 22, 1816.

[59]The Canadian Courant, March 3, 1821.

[60]Ibid., September 2, 1820.

[61]Ibid.

[62]John Wood, Memoir of Henry Wilkes, D.D., L.L.D. His Life and Times (Montreal: Lovell, 1887), p.37.

[63]The Canadian Courant, September 22, 1819.

[64]Register St. Peter, Folio 73, notation.

[65]The Canadian Courant, July 15, 1820.

[66]John Duncan, Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819 (Glasgow: University Press, 1823), p.220.

[67]The Canadian Courant, July 24, 1819.

[68]The Montreal Gazette, February 28, 1807.

[69]William D. Maxwell, A History of Worship in the Church of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.125.

[70]In 1823, the session of the St. Gabriel Street Church considered discontinuing the evening service. Instead of doing so, it planned in future to hold them from the first Sunday in November until the first Sunday in May only. Session St. Gabriel, April 20, 1823.

[71]The Montreal Gazette, February 9, 1815.

[72]The Canadian Courant, July 28, 1821.

[73]Session St. Gabriel, Letter to the elders written on March 21, 1819 by Mr. James Somerville.

[74]Session St. Gabriel, January 30, 1806.

[75]Ibid., April 23, 1807.

[76]Ibid., January 9, 1806.

[77]Ibid., November 5, 1805.

[78]Ibid., June 16, 1805.

[79]Millar Patrick, Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p.131.

[80]Maxwell, p.167.

[81]Patrick, p.212.

[82]The Canadian Courant, May 4, 1831.

[83]Croil, p.113.

[84]W. Stanford Reid, The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada Its Struggle for Establishment (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1936), p.103.

[85]Croil, p.113.

[86]David Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1822-1866", (Unpublished Master's dissertation, McGill University, 1957), p.28.

[87]Knowles, p.165.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Neil Smith's assertion that "Presbyterian polity did not lend itself to close supervision over the affairs of the colonial churches" is borne out by the experience of the two Presbyterian Churches built in Montreal before 1825. They were, of necessity, almost completely independent bodies. On the other hand, the persistence of Scotland's traditional pattern of Presbyterianism is the second most noticeable feature of their development. The explanation lies in the fact that a great majority of their Scottish members were first generation Canadians, many of whom were reared in Scotland and accustomed to the practices of the Church of Scotland.

Built by means of the financial help of wealthy fur merchants, the St. Gabriel Street Church was the first Protestant Church in Lower Canada and it carried on the traditions of the Church of Scotland in Montreal. The division which soon appeared within the Montreal congregation was similar to divisions which had already separated Presbyterians in Scotland and was therefore not out of keeping with Scottish Presbyterianism. The result, in Montreal, was the erection of the St. Peter Street Church in 1805. Among the Scottish members of the St. Peter Street Church, Scottish traditions were still as

firmly rooted, as they were within the members of the St. Gabriel Street Church.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States had a long historical past before Presbyterianism came to life in Montreal. Its General Assembly was already functioning before the first congregation of Presbyterians in Montreal had built its first church. Over the years, the Presbyterian Church in the United States had built its own traditions which differed in many ways from those of its mother church in Scotland. These had been crystallized in its constitution formulated in 1788.

An American element formed part of the earliest congregation of Presbyterians in Montreal. Americans had joined the St. Peter Street congregation and liberally supported it for almost twenty years because they found its atmosphere more congenial than that of the St. Gabriel Street Church.

Despite their long association with Americans in the St. Peter Street congregation, when their minister resigned in 1824, the Scottish members of the St. Peter Street congregation who formed a majority, determined to secure a replacement from the Church of Scotland and no where else. The American element withdrew and formed

their own church, the American Presbyterian Church.

The separation of the American and Scottish elements in the St. Peter Street Church is attributable to the clash between the traditions of the older church in Scotland and the younger Presbyterian Church in the United States. The American Presbyterian Church in Montreal became affiliated with the Presbyterian Church in the United States and it called an American minister to its pulpit. It never rejoined the Presbyterian Church in Canada. It was not until 1925 that it became a wholly Canadian church, and it was to join the new United Church of Canada, in which in addition to Presbyterians, there were both Congregationalists and Methodists. It is interesting to note that Congregationalists had been among the earliest Americans to come to Montreal and had formed an important part of the church on St. Peter Street.

There had been Americans in Montreal before the cession and they came in increasing numbers afterwards, trickling into the lower strata of Montreal's Protestant society, chiefly as artisans. The later arriving Americans, and particularly those who came after the imposition of the embargo, were often well to do merchants, with continuing American connections.

The Americans, by 1824, had become an important segment of Montreal's business community. Just as their influence could not be ignored in Montreal's secular life, their traditions in religion could not be submerged within a Scottish national church.

ANNEX I

Excerpts from a letter received from the Rev. Mr. Robert W. Mumford, minister of the First United Church, Truro, Nova Scotia, on the 22nd of March, 1965.

From the book entitled "The Memorials of the Rev. John Sprott", I have found this particular entry on page 17 concerning the Rev. John Young. "18th of July, set out before daylight for Sheet Harbour with a wedding party; reached it at three of the clock, and married Stutely Horton to Lydia Balcolme. Same evening visited the grave of the Rev. John Young. It lies on the sea-beaten shore within a few yards of the water, and within a few yards of the forest. In his more prosperous days he had a large congregation at Montreal in Canada. He had a mingled lot on earth, but he now rests from his labours. He was a searching and close preacher, and his last days were a blessing to the people of Sheet Harbour. I stood on his ashes, and preached a funeral sermon." This book was printed for private distribution.

ANNEX II

Excerpts from a letter received from the Rev. Mr. Ralph B. MacCaull, Minister of The United Church of Canada, Sheet Harbour Pastoral Charge, Sheet Harbour, Nova Scotia, on the 29th of March, 1965.

1st, from "an historical outline of the Presbyterian Congregation of Sheet Harbour". Prepared by someone many years ago.

"The Young Period. From about 1815 to about 1825."
"For a few years this place enjoyed the regular ministrations of the Rev. Young, a Scotchman who came here from Montreal. He is still remembered by the oldest inhabitants and is described as a man 6 ft. 6 inches tall and very stout with an 'eye in his head like a hawk', a nice preacher who would give you good advice. His wife was of corresponding proportions. Mr. Young it appears was never regularly settled as pastor of the congregation. He lived in a school house and combined the duties of the pedagogue with those of the preacher. He died about the year 1825 and his bones rest in the Sheet Harbour Churchyard but without headstone or monument."

2nd, from "A Local History of Sheet Harbour". A little book prepared by James E. Rutledge a lawyer of Halifax who was born in Sheet Harbour.

"St. James United Church. An early Church edifice was of log construction used also as a school house. It was situated in Campbell Town on lands now occupied by Mrs. Edward Connor, Sr.. Visiting clergymen came to the Presbyterians of the villages in the early years, the first being a Rev. John Young who arrived in 1818. He

was engaged in a double capacity: as a teacher of youth and as a minister of the gospel. He was taken for a twelve month period. He was a man 6 ft. 6 inches tall and his wife was of corresponding proportions. He was said to have had 'an eye in his head like a hawk' (notes of Rev. Richard Logan - 1910)." The obituary of the Reverend Mr. Young contained in the ACADIAN RECORDER of March 19th, 1825 is enclosed in part."

See Annex III for the complete obituary.

ANNEX III

The obituary notice of the Rev. John Young found in the ACADIAN RECORDER, of March 19, 1825, p.3, received from the Legislative Library, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

DEATHS

At Sheet Harbour, on the 10th ultimo, the Rev. John Young, aged 66 years. Few persons have experienced greater vicissitudes of fortune in their passage through life than the individual whose death has now been mentioned. Mr. Young was born and educated in Scotland. He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Irvine; and a short time afterwards sailed for the United States of America. He officiated for some time to a congregation in the city of Schenectady, and after receiving a very pressing call from the Presbyterian church in Montreal, he removed to that city where his public ministrations were crowned with remarkable success. He was instrumental in uniting the Presbyterian ministers in that province, and had the honor to be Moderator of the first meeting of Presbytery which ever met in Canada. But the sun of prosperity does not always shine upon our heads. Circumstances which it would be invidious to detail rendered it necessary for him to leave Montreal. The late unhappy war between Britain and America at length freed him from his station in Canada as president of the Academy and minister of the Presbyterian church in Niagara; about 11 or 12 years ago he came to this province and visited different parts of the country till he finally settled about four years ago at Sheet Harbour, where his mortal remains now sleep in the dust. He spent the evening of his days in teaching their children during the week and preaching to the inhabitants on the Lord's day, and notwithstanding the infirmities of human nature, his death is universally lamented in that infant settlement. He has left behind him in this province an aged widow and one daughter both deaf and dumb, besides several children in Canada. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall".

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